

New Year's Day of 1068 A H = 2 Ābān	30 Thahr
of 1069 A H = 22 Mīh	31 „
of 1070 A H = 11 „	32 „

AIMADĀBĪD }
January, 1912 }

GEO P TAYLOR



New Year's Day of	981 A H = 25	Ardibihisht	18	Ilah ,
„ of	982 A H = 15	„	19	„
„ of	983 A H = 3	„	20	„
„ of	984 A H = 22	Farwardin	21	„
„ of	985 A H = 12	„	22	„
„ of	986 A H = 5	Gāthā	22	„
„ of	987 A H = 25	Isfandārmuz	23	„
„ of	988 A H = 13	„	24	„
„ of	989 A H = 2	„	25	„
„ of	990 A H = 22	Bahman	26	„
„ of	991 A H = 11	„	27	„
„ of	992 A H = 30	Di	28	„
„ of	993 A H = 19	„	29	„
„ of	994 A H = 9	„	30	„
„ of	995 A H = 27	Ādhar	31	„
„ of	996 A H = 16	„	32	„
„ of	997 A H = 5	„	33	„
„ of	998 A H = 25	Ābān	34	„
„ of	999 A H = 15	„	35	„
„ of	1000 A H = 4	„	36	„
„ of	1001 A H = 22	Mihri	37	„
„ of	1002 A H = 11	„	38	„
„ of	1003 A H = 1	„	39	„
„ of	1004 A H = 20	Shahrewar	40	„
„ of	1005 A H = 8	„	41	„
„ of	1006 A H = 27	Amardād	42	„
„ of	1007 A H = 17	„	43	„
„ of	1008 A H = 7	„	44	„
„ of	1009 A H = 26	Tir	45	„
„ of	1010 A H = 15	„	46	„
„ of	1011 A H = 5	„	47	„
„ of	1012 A H = 24	Khūrdād	48	„
„ of	1013 A H = 13	„	49	„
„ of	1014 A H = 1	„	50	„

Akbar died on 12 Jumādā II of 1014 A H , or 10 Ābān of 50 Ilahī

Though it seems impossible to glean from the histories of the reign of Shāh Jahān I a helpful list of synchronisms, still the Ilahī date—day and month and year—corresponding to each Hijrī New Year's Day of that reign can be readily determined. One has only to bear in mind that each Ilahī year consists of 365 days, each ordinary Hijrī year of 354, and each Intercalary Hijrī year of 355. In Shāh Jahān's reign the following were the Intercalary years —

1038, 1041, 1044, 1046, 1049, 1052, 1055, 1057, 1060, 1063, 1066, and 1068

From the List of Synchronisms for Jahāngir's reign we learn that

1	1	1037 A H	= 27	v1	22 Ilahī
1	1	1038 A H	= 27	v1	22 Ilahī + 354 days
			= 27	v1	23 Ilahī - 11 days
			= 16	v1	23 Ilahī of Jahāngīr,
		of 16	v1	1 Ilahī of Shāh Jahān I	
Hence 1	1	1039 A H	= 16	v1	1 Ilahī + 355 days
			= 16	v1	2 Ilahī - 10 days
			= 6	v1	2 Ilahī
Hence 1	1	1040 A H	= 6	v1	2 Ilahī + 354 days
			= 6	v1	3 Ilahī - 11 days
			= 25	v	3 Ilahī
Hence 1	1	1041 A H	= 25	v	3 Ilahī + 354 days
			= 25	v	4 Ilahī - 11 days
			= 14	v	4 Ilahī
					&c , &c , &c , &c

By this simple method we obtain the following results —

New Year's Day of	1038 A H	= 16	Shahrēwar	1	Ilahī
„	of 1039 A H	= 6	„	2	„
„	of 1040 A H	= 25	Amardād	3	„
„	of 1041 A H	= 14	„	4	„
„	of 1042 A H	= 4	„	5	„
„	of 1043 A H	= 23	Jīn	6	„
„	of 1044 A H	= 12	„	7	„
„	of 1045 A H	= 2	„	8	„
„	of 1046 A H	= 21	Khūrdād	9	„
„	of 1047 A H	= 11	„	10	„
„	of 1048 A H	= 30	Ardībihisht	11	„
„	of 1049 A H	= 19	„	12	„
„	of 1050 A H	= 9	„	13	„
„	of 1051 A H	= 28	Farwardīn	14	„
„	of 1052 A H	= 17	„	15	„
„	of 1053 A H	= 7	„	16	„
„	of 1054 A H	= 1	Gāthā	16	„
„	of 1055 A H	= 20	Isfandārmuz	17	„
„	of 1056 A H	= 10	„	18	„
„	of 1057 A H	= 29	Bahman	19	„
„	of 1058 A H	= 19	„	20	„
„	of 1059 A H	= 8	„	21	„
„	of 1060 A H	= 27	Dī	22	„
„	of 1061 A H	= 17	„	23	„
„	of 1062 A H	= 6	„	24	„
„	of 1063 A H	= 25	Ādhar	25	„
„	of 1064 A H	= 15	„	26	„
„	of 1065 A H	= 4	„	27	„
„	of 1066 A H	= 23	Ābān	28	„
„	of 1067 A H	= 13	„	29	„

TABLE II — *For Ilahī Years*

Day of month	* Gāthā	Isfandārmuz	Bahman	Dī	Ādhar	Ābān	Mīhr	Shahrēwar	Amardād	Tīr	Khordād	Ardibīshst	Farwardīn	Day of month
		xii	xi	x	ix	viii	vii	vi	v	iv	iii	ii	i	
30		63606			06	126	156	186	216	246	276	306	336	30
29		73707			07	127	157	187	217	247	277	307	337	29
28		83808			08	128	158	188	218	248	278	308	338	28
27		93909			09	129	159	189	219	249	279	309	339	27
26		104070			100	130	160	190	220	250	280	310	340	26
25		114171			101	131	161	191	221	251	281	311	341	25
24		124272			102	132	162	192	222	252	282	312	342	24
23		134373			103	133	163	193	223	253	283	313	343	23
22		144474			104	134	164	194	224	254	284	314	344	22
21		154575			105	135	165	195	225	255	285	315	345	21
20		164676			106	136	166	196	226	256	286	316	346	20
19		174777			107	137	167	197	227	257	287	317	347	19
18		184878			108	138	168	198	228	258	288	318	348	18
17		194979			109	139	169	199	229	259	289	319	349	17
16		205080			110	140	170	200	230	260	290	320	350	16
15		215181			111	141	171	201	231	261	291	321	351	15
14		225282			112	142	172	202	232	262	292	322	352	14
13		235383			113	143	173	203	233	263	293	323	353	13
12		245484			114	144	174	204	234	264	294	324	354	12
11		255585			115	145	175	205	235	265	295	325	355	11
10		265686			116	146	176	206	236	266	296	326	356	10
9		275787			117	147	177	207	237	267	297	327	357	9
8		285888			118	148	178	208	238	268	298	328	358	8
7		295989			119	149	179	209	239	269	299	329	359	7
6		306090			120	150	180	210	240	270	300	330	360	6
5	—1	310191			121	151	181	211	241	271	301	331	361	5
4	2	320292			122	152	182	212	242	272	302	332	362	4
3	3	330393			123	153	183	213	243	273	303	333	363	3
2	4	340494			124	154	184	214	244	274	304	334	364	2
1	5	350595			125	155	185	215	245	275	305	335	365	1

* Each year of the Persian era of Yazdīyād consists of 365 days, or of 12 months, each of 30 days, followed, at the end of the twelfth month, by 5 days, called Gāthās

This Table shows the interval (in days) between New Year's Day and each day of the immediately preceding Ilahī year. For example, 29 Dī comes 67 days *before*, or 28 Mīhr 158 days *before*, the first day of the next year

A few examples will illustrate the process of determining the Ilahī date corresponding to New Year's Day of the Hijrī year

- A* 1 1 4 Ilahī = 14 xii 1017 A H (See I M C , p 357)
by Table I, = 1 1 1017 A H + 338 days
 1 1 4 Ilahī—338 days = 1 1 1017 A H
by Table II, 28 1 3 Ilahī = 1 1 1017 A H
 or the New Year's Day of 1017 A H fell on the 28th
 day of Farwardīn of Ilahī 3
- B* 1 1 10 Ilahī = 18 ii 1024 A H (See I M C , p 357),
by Table I, = 1 1 1024 A H + 47 days
 1 1 10 Ilahī—47 days = 1 1 1024 A H
by Table II, 19 xi 9 Ilahī = 1 1 1024 A H
- C* 1 1 17 Ilahī = 9 v 1031 A H (See I M C , p 357),
by Table I, = 1 1 1031 A H + 126 days
by Table II, 30 viii 16 Ilahī = 1 1 1031 A H
- D* 1 1 21 Ilahī = 21 vi 1035 A H (See I M C , p 357),
by Table I, = 1 1 1035 A H + 168 days
by Table II, 18 vii 20 Ilahī = 1 1 1035 A H

From Abu'l Fazl's list, (corrected in Cunningham's ' Book of Indian Eras,' page 225), of the Hijrī dates corresponding to the initial days of each of the Ilahī years of Akbar's reign, has been prepared the following converse list, showing the Ilahī synchronisms of all the New Year's Days from Hijrī 964 to 1015

Akbar ascended the throne on 2 Rabī' II 963, A H The next Nauroz, or New Year's Day, fell 25 days later, or on 27 Rabī' II 963 A H , and by Akbar's order this Nauroz was held to be the first day of the Ilahī era

New Year's Day of	964 A H = 30 Ābān	1 Ilah ,
„ of	965 A H = 19 „	2 „
„ of	966 A H = 7 „	3 „
„ of	967 A H = 27 Mīhr	4 „
„ of	968 A H = 16 „	5 „
„ of	969 A H = 5 „	6 „
„ of	970 A H = 24 Shahrēwar	7 „
„ of	971 A H = 13 „	8 „
„ of	972 A H = 2 „	9 „
„ of	973 A H = 22 Amardād	10 „
„ of	974 A H = 11 „	11 „
„ of	975 A H = 30 Tīr	12 „
„ of	976 A H = 19 „	13 „
„ of	977 A H = 9 „	14 „
„ of	978 A H = 27 Khūrdād	15 „
„ of	979 A H = 16 „	16 „
„ of	980 A H = 6 „	17 „

New Year's Day	of 1020 A H	= 1 Gāthā	5 Ilahī
„	of 1021	„ = 20 Isfandārmuz	6 „
„	of 1022	„ = 11 „	7 „
„	of 1023	„ = 28 Bahman	8 „
„	of 1024	„ = 19 „	9 „
„	of 1025	„ = 7 „	10 „
„	of 1026	„ = 26 Dī	11 „
„	of 1027	„ = 15 „	12 „
„	of 1028	„ = 4 „	13 „
„	of 1029	„ = 23 Ādhar	14 „
„	of 1030	„ = 11 „	15 „
„	of 1031	„ = 30 Ābān	16 „
„	of 1032	„ = 19 „	17 „
„	of 1033	„ = 10 „	18 „
„	of 1034	„ = 29 Mīhr	19 „
„	of 1035	„ = 18 „	20 „
„	of 1036	„ = 7 „	21 „
„	of 1037	„ = 27 Shahrēwar	22 „

Jahāngīr died on 28 Safar of 1037 A H , or 24 Ābān of 22 Ilahī

A list of Hijrī synchronisms of the Ilahī New Year's Days of Jahāngīr's reign is given in the "Indian Museum Catalogue," III, p 357, from which the converse list, now supplied, may be easily deduced. In making this conversion the two following Tables will be found useful for ready reference —

TABLE I — *For Hijrī Years*

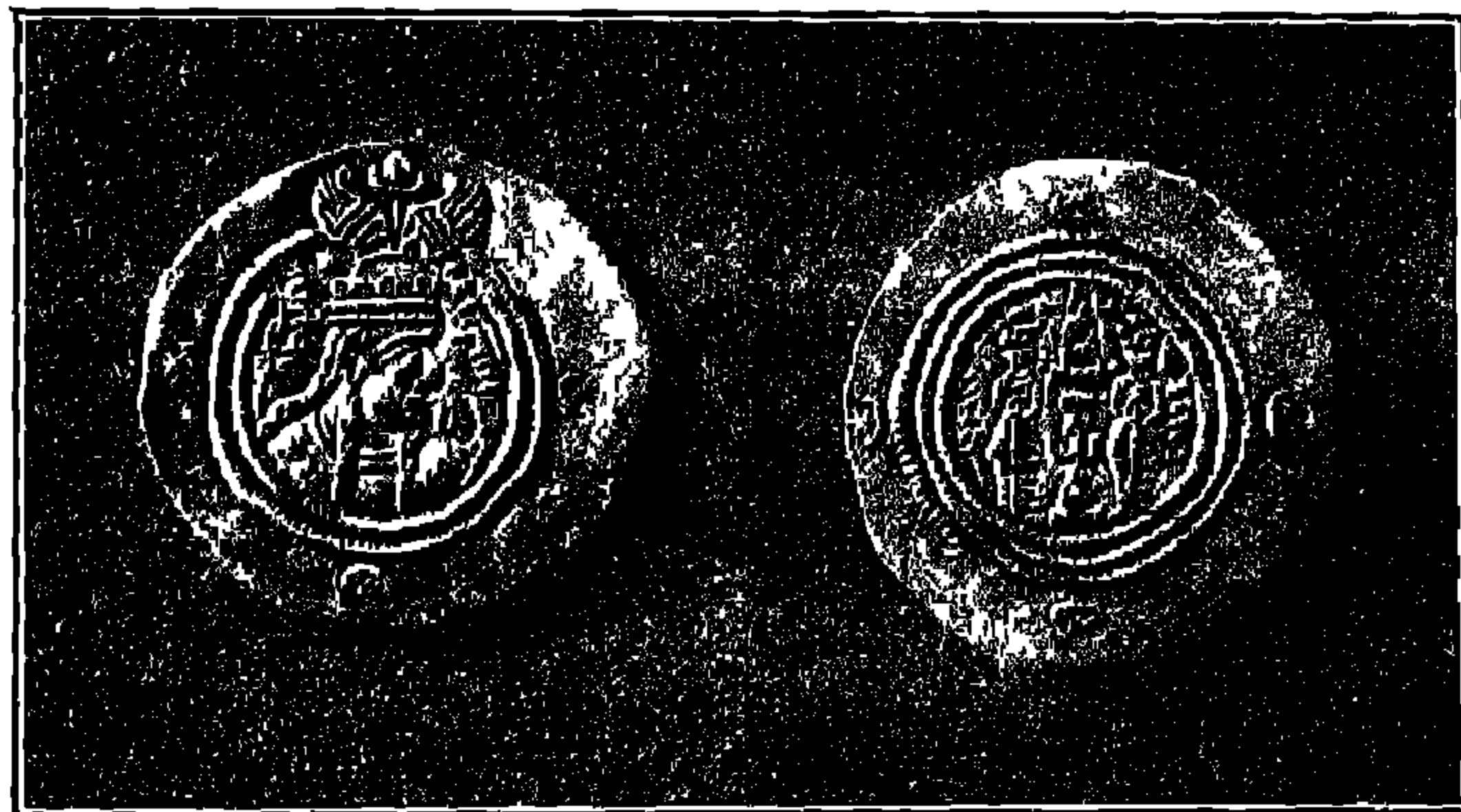
Day of month		1	11	111	111	111	111	111	111	111	111	111	111	Day of month
		Muharram	Safar	Rabī' I	Rabī' II	Jumādā I	Jumādā II	Rajab	Shābān	Ramadān	Shawwāl	Dhu'l qa'da	Dhu'l hijja	
1			90	59	89	118	148	177	207	236	266	295	325	1
2	+1		31	60	90	119	149	178	208	237	267	296	326	2
3	2		32	61	91	120	150	179	209	238	268	297	327	3
4	3		33	62	92	121	151	180	210	239	269	298	328	4
5	4		34	63	93	122	152	181	211	240	270	299	329	5
6	5		35	64	94	123	153	182	212	241	271	300	330	6
7	6		36	65	95	124	154	183	213	242	272	301	331	7
8	7		37	66	96	125	155	184	214	243	273	302	332	8
9	8		38	67	97	126	156	185	215	244	274	303	333	9
10	9		39	68	98	127	157	186	216	245	275	304	334	10
11	10		40	69	99	128	158	187	217	246	276	305	335	11
12	11		41	70	100	129	159	188	218	247	277	306	336	12
13	12		42	71	101	130	160	189	219	248	278	307	337	13
14	13		43	72	102	131	161	190	220	249	279	308	338	14
15	14		44	73	103	132	162	191	221	250	280	309	339	15
16	15		45	74	104	133	163	192	222	251	281	310	340	16
17	16		46	75	105	134	164	193	223	252	282	311	341	17
18	17		47	76	106	135	165	194	224	253	283	312	342	18
19	18		48	77	107	136	166	195	225	254	284	313	343	19
20	19		49	78	108	137	167	196	226	255	285	314	344	20
21	20		50	79	109	138	168	197	227	256	286	315	345	21
22	21		51	80	110	139	169	198	228	257	287	316	346	22
23	22		52	81	111	140	170	199	229	258	288	317	347	23
24	23		53	82	112	141	171	200	230	259	289	318	348	24
25	24		54	83	113	142	172	201	231	260	290	319	349	25
26	25		55	84	114	143	173	202	232	261	291	320	350	26
27	26		56	85	115	144	174	203	233	262	292	321	351	27
28	27		57	86	116	145	175	204	234	263	293	322	352	28
29	28		58	87	117	146	176	205	235	264	294	323	353	29
30	29			88		147		206		265		324	*354	30

* It is only in the Intercalary Year that *Dhu'l hijja* (xii) contains 30 days

This Table shows the interval (in days) between New Year's Day and each subsequent day of the Hijrī year. For example, 19 Safar comes 48 days *after*, or 24 Shawwāl 289 days *after*, the first day of that same year

Description of the Dinham

Metal Silver
Mint Rām
Date Regnal year ۱۰۱
Weight 61.5 grains
Diameter 1.25 inch



Obverse — Bust of Queen to right within two dotted circles with a crown—similar to that of her father *Khusrau II*, but slightly varied—surmounted with wings. Between and above the wings a crescent bearing a small globe. Outside the circles at the extreme right and left and bottom a crescent with enclosed star. Jewels encircling the crown, and others interwoven with long curls reaching to the breasts. A necklace of two strands. Below the right wing of the crown a star, and below the left wing a crescent with a star in its bosom.

Legend —To left behind the back of bust (reading from right to left) *Pahlavi characters* = *نورانی* 'increase'

To right, in front of face, *Pahlavi characters* = *بورانی* = Burani

Reverse —Within three dotted circles an *Atash dān*, Fire receptacle—by European writers commonly called a Fire altar—with flames ascending, and at base two steps, on either side guardian nobes (*Paisee* priests), facing front, and each holding in his two hands a long sword, point downwards. To right of flames a crescent, and to left a star.

Legend —To left, reading from inside, *Pahlavi characters* = *۱۰۱*, 'first' regnal year)

To right, reading from outside, *Pahlavi characters* =
𐭠𐭥, Rām (the mint town)

For the reading 𐭠𐭥 compare the reverse of the coin of Khusrau I (Naushirwán), given in Dorn's *Collection de Monnaies Sassanides*, Pl XXII, fig 1, also for the reading 𐭠𐭥 see the Reverse of another coin of that same King in Dorn Pl XXIV, fig 38

When deciphering this dirham, I was under the impression that none of Puran-dukht's coins had as yet been published but in a book-catalogue received from Paris in April last there is an entry, "Monnaies de la reine Sassanide Borán ou Pauran-dokht" by M Ed Drouin, 1893 This monograph I have not yet seen

BOMBAY
1911

FRAMJEE JAMASJEE THANAWALLA

P S —After I had completed the above article my kind friend Mr Cawasjee Eduljee Kotwall placed in my hands a copy, recently sent him from Paris, of the late M Drouin's monograph above mentioned It contains a description of four of that Queen's dirhams of the regnal year 1 (mint not stated), and one dirham of each of the regnal years 2 and 3 Both of these latter coins are from Yezd Mint, whereas the dirham described by me issued from the Mint at Rām M Drouin held that the Queen Púrándokht (or as he preferred to read the name Borándokht) reigned from May 630 till October 631

Ahdi, can be read as *Aioke* *Aioke* is preferable to *Ahdi*

BOMBAY
1911

F J TH

100 ILAHĪ SYNCHRONISMS OF SOME HIJRĪ NEW YEAR'S DAYS

The following list, giving the Ilahī date corresponding to the initial day of each Hījrī year from 1015 to 1037, may prove of service in the study of the coins of Jahāngīr's reign

Jahāngīr ascended the throne on 20 Jumādā II of 1014 A H , or 18 Ābān of 50 Ilahī

New Year's Day of 1015 A H	= 20	Ardībīhīsh	1	Ilahī
„ of 1016 „	= 10	„	2	„
„ of 1017 „	= 28	Farwardīn	3	„
„ of 1018 „	= 18	„	4	„
„ of 1019 „	= 7	„	5	„

3 Metal, Gold

Weight, 170.5 grns

Size, 8 inch

Date, (10) 77 x

Mint, Jūnagarh

4 Metal, Gold

Weight, 170 grns and 169 grns

Size, 8 inch

Date, 1098 31 and 1114 46

Mint, Zafarābād

Rupees of Aurangzēb are known of all the above mints, and muhars of Ahsanābād, 'Alamgīrpūr and Zafarābād were found by Mr Whitehead in the Bahāwalpūr treasury (N S XI) The legends call for no remarks

Shāh 'Ālam I

Metal, Silver

Weight, 174 grns

Size, 9 inch

Date, 1122 4

Mint, Nārñöl

Obverse

عارى
 بادشاه
 عالم بهادر
 شاه
 ۱۱۲۲

Reverse

مادوس
 میمنت
 ۳
 صد حادوس
 صد
 کار دول

For a second specimen see the Catalogue of Mr C T Rodgers's Mughal Coins in the Lahore Museum, p 199, No 15

Farrukhsiyān

Metal, Gold

Weight, 168 grns

Size, 1 inch

Date, (11) 27 5

Mint, Purbandar

This coin is no 893, pl xxii, of the British Museum Catalogue where it is doubtfully attributed to Bareli At this period, however, *بریلی* is never placed as on this coin but written

ہے
صرہ بر، and there can be little doubt that this adds another to the few coins known of Purbandar Dr G P Taylor has a rupee of Farrukhsiyar of this mint (Num Suppl No IV, 27, and Catalogue of the Indian Museum, vol III, p lxxiii

Ahmad Shāh

Metal, Gold
Weight, 168.8 grns
Size, 8 inch
Date, 1164 4
Mint, Lāhor

Rupees of this mint of Ahmad are not uncommon For notice of the muhar see Num Suppl xi, 69

‘Ālamgīr II

Metal, Gold
Weight, 167.9 grns
Size, 75 inch
Date, 1171 5
Mint, Jaipūr (Sawāī)

There is another muhar of this mint of the year 6 in the Indian Museum Catalogue, no 2183

J ALLAN,
British Museum

99 A SILVER DIRHAM OF THE SASSANIAN QUEEN PÚRÁN-
DUKHT

Mr Maneckjee Rustomjee Sethna of Bombay has kindly supplied a photograph, and has also given me permission to publish a description of a rare dirham obtained by him so recently as last January (1911) in the local bazār When at his request I set to classifying his Sassanian coins, I thought at first this dirham should be attributed to Shīrīn, the Queen Consort of Khusrau II (Parvīz), but further examination revealed the name Búrānī, written in Old Pahlavī characters Evidently then the coin must be assigned to that Púrān-dukht who in her own right reigned over Persia for some sixteen months of the years A D 630 and 631 Superintending, like the kings before her, the various departments of the State, she gave proof of high ability to manage imperial affairs In the exercise of her royal powers she was not duly capable but just, and was also generous in rewarding her councillors and provincial Governors for the services they rendered

between it and the following piece, which is of the usual Bengal fabric, suggests that the dies may have been engraved at the Dehli mint, when Muhammad, amid many other tokens of his esteem for Bahādur Shah, whom he had just restored, agreed that their names should appear together on the coins

V AR 165 5 size 1 Pl XVI

Obverse in square in circle as preceding coin

Reverse in double square as preceding coin

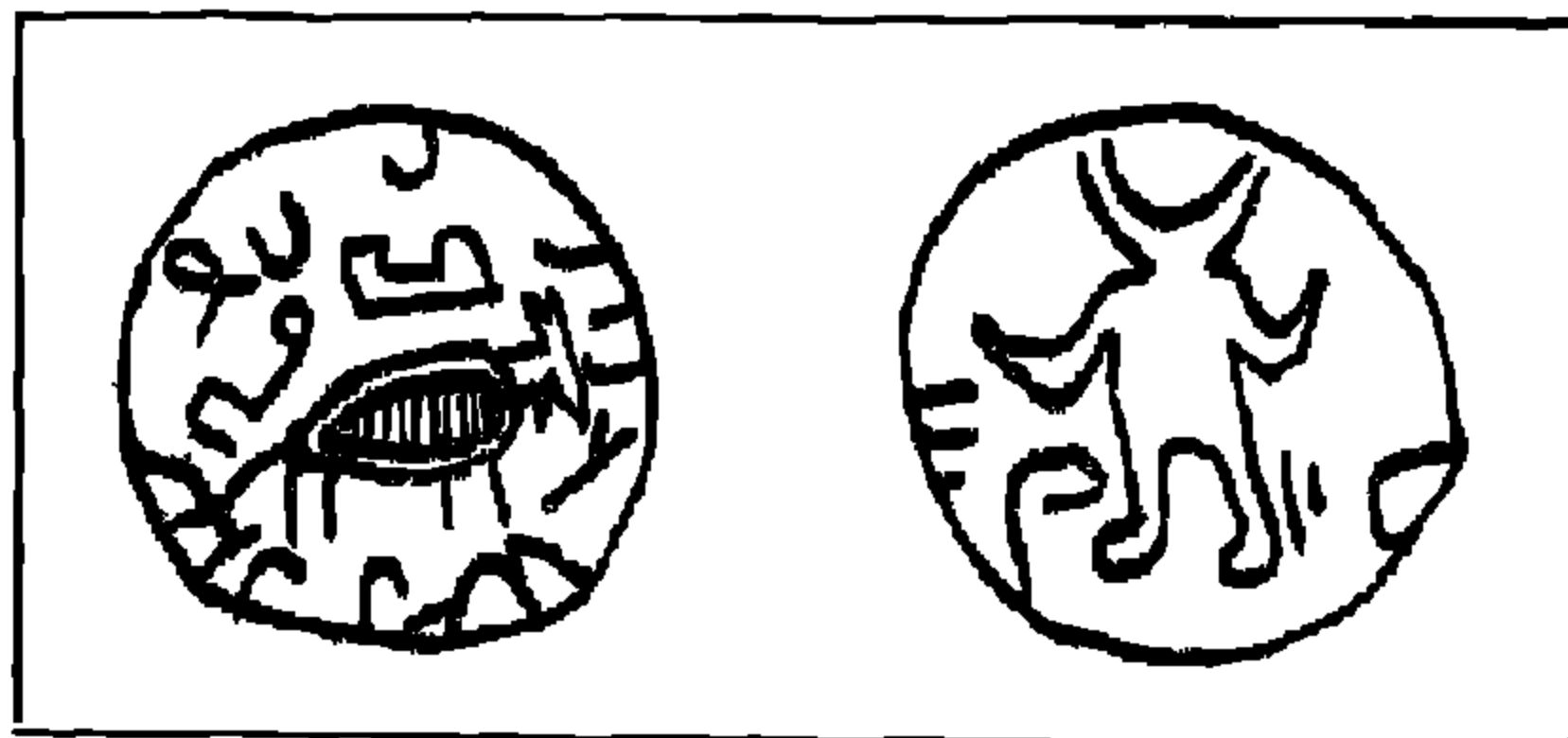
No trace of marginal legend on either side

This coin bears no remaining trace of mint or date but must have been struck before 730 when Bahādur reverted to a coin age which showed his independence as the coins of that year of Ohiyāspūr show Both the above pieces formerly belonged to General Cunningham

J ALLAN,
British Museum

97 ON AN UNPUBLISHED MEDIAEVAL COIN

The coin described below came from a find made four years ago near Rūpar in the Ambāla District of the Panjāb It appears that the actual finders persuaded an acquaintance that the find was a valuable one, and sold the original hoard to him as the result of their representation When the purchaser discovered that the coins were in reality of debased metal, and that he could get little or nothing for them in the bāzār, he instituted a criminal case against the finders in the Court of the Subdivisional Officer, Rūpar Some time subsequently my friend the Subdivisional Officer happened to mention the case to me, and I was able to obtain a number of the coins, which included twenty-one specimens of a type of mediaeval currency as yet to the best of my knowledge unpublished



Metal —Mixed, probably containing traces of gold

Weight

190 grains


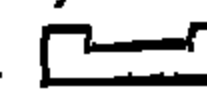
Size

75 inches

Obverse — Figure apparently facing

Reverse — Representation of a quadruped standing to right,
round it inscription and symbols

This coin I think represents the last stage in degradation of the original Greek design. The obverse shows a human figure copied from the Kushān coins, which though even still more crude, resembles the figures on the copper coins ascribed by Mr Vincent Smith to the Kings of Kalinga of the fourth or fifth century after Christ—see Vol I of the Catalogue of the Coins in the Indian Museum, Calcutta, Plate XIV, 14. The reverse design is that of some animal which I cannot identify. The massive body and rope like tail point to the elephant, but this supposition is negatived by the thin neck, small head, long upstanding ears, and the equally rope like legs. The animal is strangely like what would be delineated by a modern child in its first attempts to draw.

The coin is die struck. The above illustration is the result of a mutual comparison of all twenty one specimens, and is somewhat larger than the coin itself. I do not know the language of the inscription, but it is possible that the two central markings  and  are symbols or monograms.

These coins were accompanied by two or three copper coins of the white Hun chiefs Toramāna and Mihirakula of types I M Cat, Vol I, Plate XXV, 4 and 5, which fixes their probable date at approximately A D 500.

DALHOUSIE

R B WHITEHEAD, I C S.

1911

98 SOME RARE MOGHUL COINS

Since the publication of the Catalogue of Coins of the Moghul Emperors, the British Museum has acquired a fair number of coins of this series, of which the following appear to be worth notice —

Amangzeb

- 1 Metal, Gold
Weight, 168.2 grs
Size, 85 inch
Date, 1112 45
Mint, Ahsanābād
- 2 Metal, Gold.
Weight, 109.6 grns
Size, 8 inch
Date, 1077 10
Mint, 'Ālamgīrpūr

(1) شمس الدین ابو نصر مطهر شاه السلطان as on the gold coin and I M No 17519¹

(2) Similar, the only difference being in the form of writing the name Muzaffar, which is written in the usual form, see No 16151 I M²

(3) شمس الدین ابو المطهر مطهر شاه السلطان as on I M No 16158³

RĀKHAL DĀS BANERJĪ,

Indian Museum, Calcutta

96 SOME RARE COINS OF THE PATHĀN SULTĀNS OF DEHLI

The following coins, which have been acquired by the British Museum since the publication of the *Catalogue of Coins of the Sultāns of Dehlī*, in 1885, appear to be unpublished —

I *Muhammad bin Sām*

41 (base) wt 49.5 size 55
No mint, year 59 x

Obverse

الله
في الله الا
محمد
رسول الله

Around between two concentric
circles, شمس الدین
وحمص مائه

Reverse

السلطان المعظم
معز الدین والد
بن ابو المطهر
محمد بن سام

Pl XVI

There is no mint on this coin, but its Ghorid faloric shows that it was probably struck at Ghazni. It is quite a new type for Muhammad bin Sam, and as the name of Ghiyāṣu d dīn al-Ghorī does not appear it was probably struck in 599 A.H. The coin was acquired in Bannū by Dr T. L. Pennell and presented by him to the Museum.

II *Qutbu-d-dīn Mubārak*

A wt 55.7 size 6 square
No mint or date

¹ H. N. Wright, I M Cat., Vol. II, part II, p. 171.

² *Ibid.*, p. 172

³ *Ibid.*, p. 171

<i>Obverse</i>	<i>Reverse</i>
حليقة رب العالمين	مدارك شاه
قطب الدنيا والدين	السلطان بن
ابو المطهر	السلطان

Pl XVI

This remarkable coin appears to be the third of a gold tanka which would be quite a new denomination. For the obverse legend of I M C, Vol II, p 45, No 253, and for the reverse No 263, but I am unaware of any other coin which combines these legends. The coin is evidently undated, and was formerly in the collection of the late Dr Leitner.

*III Ghuyāsu-d dīn Tughlaq I and Nāsiru-d dīn Ibrāhīm Shāh,
Governor of Bengal, 723-725, A H*

R wt 168.6 size 1.15

Pl XVI

<i>Obverse</i>	<i>Reverse</i>
السلطان الاعظم	السلطان المعظم
عياك الدنيا والدين	ناصر الدنيا والدين
ابو المطهر بعلق شاه	ابو المطهر ابراهيم شاه
السلطان	السلطان بن السلطان

both inscriptions enclosed in a double square

There is unfortunately no trace of a marginal legend on either side, but the coin may be attributed to Lakhnauti, as the fabric is distinctly that of Bengal. It was most probably struck during Tughlaq's visit to Bengal, when "the ruler of Lakhnauti, Sultān Nāsiru d-dīn, came forth with great respect to pay homage to the Sultān" (*Tārīkh-i Firoz Shāhī*, Elliot Dawson III, p 234). This specimen came from the Sonpat hoard, and was purchased by the British Museum from the Panjab Archaeological Survey in 1889.

*IV Muhammad III bin Tughlaq and Ghuyāsu-d dīn Bahādur,
Governor of Bengal (restored), 725-731 A H*

R wt 165 size 9
Sunārgāon, 728 A H

Pl XVI

Obverse and reverse legends exactly as on the silver coin of the same mint and date described by Thomas in his *Chronicles*, p 215, no 186. This coin is of remarkably neat workmanship, closely resembling the contemporary gold coins of Muhammad III struck in Delhi. The contrast in fabric

51. NUMISMATIC SUPPLEMENT No XVI

Note — The numeration of the article below is continued from p. 691 of the "Journal and Proceedings" for 1910,

95 GOLD COINS OF SHAMSU-D-DIN MUZAFFAR SHĀH, OF BENGAL

In 1873 Sir E C Bayley published a drawing of a gold coin of this king¹ But at that time he could not read the mint and date and consequently was obliged to discuss the question of its assignation at length These were correctly read by S L Poole in his catalogue² The same scholar also published the full name of the king correctly for the first time Bayley's coin remained an unique specimen for a very long time, and seems to be the only gold coin of Muzaffar Shāh recorded up to date Recently I came across two gold coins of this prince in Bengal The first coin belongs to Bābū Debī Prasād Mārwarī, of Bhāgalpūr, and was sent to me for examination with the major part of his collection It is almost a duplicate of Bayley's coin —

<i>Obverse</i>	<i>Reverse</i>
In ornamental double circle, the Kalma and خزانة ۸۹۶	In ornamental double circle, الدنيا
In ornamented circle containing the smaller circle, the names of the four Companions	شمس والدين ابو نصر مظفر شاه السلطان جلد الله ملكه (و) سلطانه

The coin was purchased by the owner at Bhāgalpūr The second coin was found in the ruins of Gaur, and is at present in the possession of Bābū Krishna Lāl Chaudhuri, Zemindār of Maldah This coin is an exact duplicate of Bābū Debī Prasād's coin, but is in a far better state of preservation

It should be noted that the name of Muzaffar Shāh differs on different coins —

¹ J A S B (Old series), Vol XLII, pp 312-313

² Catalogue of Indian coins in the British Museum, Muhammadan States, p 43, note

It was in this building that Bahr-ul-'Ulūm was born. He was educated by his father. At the age of seventeen, he received from his father a *sanad* of competency. Six months after this his father died, and, as Bahr-ul-'Ulūm was unworthy to succeed him, his cousin Mullā Kamāl-ud Dīn was installed as professor. However, Bahr-ul-'Ulūm, with the help of his cousin, engaged himself in acquiring knowledge. When he became proficient he took the seat of his father, which his cousin vacated. He began to deliver lectures and compose books, chiefly on philosophical subjects. Unfortunately, an event happened which forced him to quit Lucknow. He wrote a controversial discourse, which created bad blood between the Shī'ās and Sunnīs. The ruler of Oudh, Shujā'-ud-Dawlah, thereupon ordered his expulsion, and he consequently went to Shāh Jahānpūr. 'Abd Ullāh Khān was then its Nawab. He was received by the Nawab with great honour and dwelt in his city for some time. But he had to quit this place also, for there arose an internal feud in the district, and 'Abd Ullāh was murdered in A.H. 1173 (A.D. 1759). He next proceeded to the Rāmpūr State where the Nawab Fayz Ullāh Khān welcomed him. For nearly five years he remained there, but the rush of students to him was so great that the Nawab was unable to meet their demands. Bahr-ul-'Ulūm, being dissatisfied with the Nawab, left the place.

At this juncture Munshī Sadr-ud-Dīn of Burdwān, in Bengal, wrote a letter to Bahr-ul-'Ulūm from Bohar, expressing the hope that he would honour the Madrasah in Bohar. Bahr-ul-'Ulūm accepted the offer and went to Bohar. However, owing to the machinations of some designing persons, a rupture took place between the two, and Bahr-ul-'Ulūm proceeded to Madras. Here he was welcomed by Nawab Wālā Jāh. He passed the remainder of his life in Madras, being held in great honour and respect. In Madras he is known as *Mahk-ul-'Ulama*, a fact little known to the people of Northern India. In Bengal and the United Provinces he is called *Bahr-ul-'Ulūm*, a name not known to scholars in Southern India. He died on the 12th Rajab, A.H. 1226, A.D. 1810. Of his many writings the following may be quoted —

(1) *Arkān Aiba'a*—A work on Muhammadan law, published in Calcutta.

(2) *Fawā'id-ur Rahamūt*—A commentary on the work of

foreigners to trade in India for a fixed period. When the period expired, the traders had to return to their native countries, and their immovable property reverted to the Crown. On this principle, a French merchant came to Lucknow and there built a house-of-business called *Frangī Mahall*. When his period expired he left, and the property was taken possession of by Government. Although this was situated in *Mahalla Ohurāgh Bāgh*, it is known by the name of *Frangī Mahall*, a fact clearly shown in the *Firmān* of Aurangzeb.

Muhibb Ullāh al-Bihārī, on the principles of jurisprudence, entitled *Musallam-us-ṣubūt*, lithographed, Lucknow 1878

(3) *Futūhāt ul-Ma'nawī Sharh il-Masnawī*—A Persian commentary on the well-known work of Jalāl-ud-Dīn Muḥammad-ur-Rūmī, lithographed, Lucknow 1873

(4) *Hāshiya'ala Mīr Zāhid*—A super commentary to Mīr Zāhid's commentary on Kuṭb ud Dīn-ir-Rāzī's treatise on logic, entitled *al-Risāla fī tasauwar wat tasdiq*, lithographed, Delhi 1875

(5) *Hāshiya'ala Mīr Zāhid'ala Mullā Jalāl*—A super commentary to Jalāl ud-Dīn Dawwānī's commentary of Sa'd-ud Dīn-it-Taftāzānī's *Tahdhīb il Manṭiq wa'l Kalām*, a treatise on logic, lithographed, Lucknow 1872

(6) *Hāshiya'alā Mīr Zāhid'ala Sharh-il-Mawāqif*—A glossary to the super commentary of Mīr Zāhid on al-Jurjānī's commentary on Azud ud Dīn al-Ījī's treatise on scholastic theology, entitled *Kitāb ul Mawāqif*, lithographed, Lucknow 1876

(7) *Hāshiya-alas Sadra*—A super-commentary on the commentary of Muhammad bin Ibrāhīm Sadr ud Dīn ish Shīrāzī on al-Abharī's treatise in philosophy, entitled *Hidāyat ul Hikmat*, lithographed, Lucknow 1846

(8) *Hidayat-us-Sarf*—A Persian treatise on the conjugation of the regular verb in Arabic

(9) *Risāla i Tawhid*—A Persian treatise on Ethics

(10) *Sharh ul Fiqh il Akbar*—A commentary on the well-known work *al-Fiqh il Akbar*, a treatise on scholastic theology and which is commonly ascribed to Imān Abū Hanīfa (d. A. H. 150, A. D. 767)

(11) *Sharh-us Sullam*—A commentary on Muhibb Ullāh's treatise in logic, entitled *Sullam-ul-'Ulūm*, lithographed, Delhi 1891

(12) *Takmila Sharh-it-Tahrir*—Supplement to the commentary of his father on Ibn Humām's work on the principle of jurisprudence, entitled *at-Tahrir fi Usul-id-Dīn*

(13) *Tanvīr-ul Absār Sharh-il-Manār*—A Persian commentary on 'Abdullah bin Ahmad Nasa'ī's work entitled *al-Manār* on the principle of jurisprudence, lithographed, Lucknow 1877



50. The Life and Works of Bahr-ul-'Ulūm

By MAWLAVI M HIDAYAT HUSAIN,
Lecturer, Presidency College

India has produced many 'Ulamās in no way inferior to Quṭb-ud-Dīn Shīrāzī,¹ Sa'd-ud-Dīn,² Taftāzānī, Sayyid Sharīf Jurjānī,³ Muhaqqiq⁴ Dawwānī, etc., but few persons are even acquainted with their names, since Indian authors chiefly devoted their attention to philosophical subjects. Biography found no place in their writings, hence there are no accounts of the life and doings of the eminent 'Ulamās. The Islamic banner of sovereignty floated in India for six hundred years. During that period many learned men flourished but Bahr-ul-Ulūm⁵ surpassed most. His real name was Abū, l Ayyāsh Muhammad 'Abd-ul-'Alī bin Nizām-ud-Dīn Sahālī. He was born in A H 1144 (A D 1731) at Lucknow. His ancestors' native land was Hirāt, but his great grandfather came to Lucknow and settled in a adjoining village called Sahāl.

In Sahāl there were two families of 'Ulamās, one *Usmānī*, who claimed their descent from 'Usmān the third Khalīfa, and the other *Ansārī*, who claimed descent from Abū Ayyūb Ansārī. The head of the latter was the famous Mullā Quṭb-ud-Dīn, a spiritual leader. Great enmity existed between the two families. At length the Usmānīs surrounded the house of Mullā Quṭb-ud-Dīn and put him to death. The Mullā had four sons, viz. Mullā Muhammad Asad, Mullā Muhammad Sa'id, Mullā Nizām ud Dīn and Mullā Muhammad Riza. Mullā Muhammad Asad was at that time in the Deccan with Aurangzeb. Mullā Muhammad Sa'id went to the Deccan to seek justice at the hands of Aurangzeb, for the murder of his father. As his elder brother was a courtier, he easily obtained admission to the presence of the Emperor and detailed what had happened. Aurangzeb issued certain orders relative to the murderers of the Mullā, and despatched a *fīrmān* to the Governor of Oudh to make over the *Fīrangī*⁶ Mahal to the family of the Mullā.

¹ He died A H 710, A D 1312, *vide* Brockelmann's *Geschichte der arabischen Literatur*, vol 11, p 211

² He died A H 791, A D 1389, *vide* the same, vol 11, p 215

³ He died A H 816, A D 1413, *vide* the same, vol 11, p 216

⁴ He died A H 907, A D 1501, *vide* the same, vol 11, p 217

⁵ The following books have been consulted in writing the life of this learned author. *Journal of an-Nadwa*, April and June 1907, *Abjad-ul-'Ulūm*, p 927, *Hadā'iq-ul-Hanafīya*, p 467, *Asar-ul-Uwal*, p 24, *Ahwāl-i-'Ulamā-i-Fīrangī Mahal*, p 64, *Moufid ul-Mufti*, p 135, and the *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, p 584

⁶ During the time of the Emperor Akbar it was the practice to allow

برسالة نواب قدسي القاب اوناوة نوسدان	اری
حالات کرمرة سحره رعب چراغ دودمان انهب مروج	۱۶۸۰
حاندان شوک مره ناصره دول و افدال طرره ناصیه	رب شاه بهادر
حسنت و احلال گرامی نسب سخی المال المبدوح	گی
دلسان العدد و البحر شاهزاده ناصر دار کامگار والا نادر	بهادر اس محمد اور
محمد سلطان بهادر *	محمد
	سلطان

ROUGH TRANSLATION OF AURANG JEB'S FIRMAN

Let Abu'l Hasan worthy of favour and countenance trust to our royal bounty and let him know that, since in accordance with our innate kindness of disposition and natural benevolence the whole of our untiring energy and all our upright intentions are engaged in promoting the public welfare and bettering the condition of all classes high and low, therefore in accordance with our holy law we have decided that the ancient temples shall not be overthrown but that new ones shall not be built. In these days of our justice, information has reached our noble and most holy court that certain persons actuated by rancour and spite have harassed the Hindus resident in the town of Benares and a few other places in that neighbourhood, and also certain Brahmins, keepers of the temples, in whose charge those ancient temples are, and that they further desire to remove these Brahmins from their ancient office (and this intention of theirs causes distress to that community), therefore our Royal Command is that after the arrival of our lustrous order you should direct that in future no person shall in unlawful ways interfere or disturb the Brahmins and the other Hindus resident in those places, so that they may as before remain in their occupation and continue with peace of mind to offer up prayers for the continuance of our God given Empire that is destined to last to all time. Consider this an urgent matter. Dated 15th of Jumāda 's Sāniya A H 1064 (= A D 1653 or 4)

49. Note on a Shi'a Imprecation

By LIEUT-COLONEL D C PHILLOTT, F A S B , *Secretary,*
Board of Examiners

The following curse is a species of religious exercise amongst Indian and Persian Shi'as. It is specially repeated on the 9th of *Rabi'ul-Awwal*, the day on which 'Umar was martyred. It is too a belief amongst the ignorant that if the curse be repeated a hundred times on the rosary, any difficulty they are in will be removed.

لَعْنُ اللّٰهِ عُمَرَ ثُمَّ اَبَا بَكْرٍ ثُمَّ عُمَرَ ثُمَّ عُمَرَ ثُمَّ عُمَرَ

or

اَللّٰهُمَّ اَلْعَن عُمَرَ ثُمَّ اَبَا بَكْرٍ ثُمَّ عُمَرَ ثُمَّ عُمَرَ ثُمَّ عُمَرَ ثُمَّ عُمَرَ

"God curse 'Umar, then Abu Bakr, then 'Umar, then 'Umar, then 'Umar', or "O God, curse 'Umar, then Abu Bakr and 'Usman, then 'Umar, then 'Umar, then 'Umar'".

When a small boy in a village school in Persia wishes to leave the room for the purposes of nature, he will hold up his little finger and say *la'n 'llah 'Umar*, "God curse 'Umar'" (or its Persian equivalent)¹. If, however, he wishes to drink water he will say *Salam 'llah 'ala al-Husayn* "may God send his peace to Husayn". This custom has now nearly died out. Instead, *pish-i Ussā mī-ravam* "I want to go and see the Master" is used. (*Ussā* is a corruption of *Ustād*, a term applied to 'Umar as being the cause of all the dissensions amongst the Muslims). For the former, too, a boy lifts up his fore-finger and middle finger and says *adab*, for the latter he holds up his fore-finger only and says *ashrab*, Ar "I drink".

The Persians show their hatred of the three Khalifas mentioned, by writing their names on the walls of latrines or on the soles of their shoes, this custom is referred to in the "Arabian Nights" vide the story of 'Ala-Ed-Deen Abu-sh-shamat, Chap XI, Vol II, of Lane's translation.

D C P

¹ Vide Haji Baba of Ispahan, Chap LIX

ghata pujári, to whose stall bathers in the river resort for various religious observances, and for purchasing various appurtenances of worship. Some Guziati Bunniah women, he had complained, used to go to the place where he used to sit, and in accordance with a curious custom they followed they would frequently set up a wailing and weeping there. Mangal complained that no one would frequent his *ghat* to bathe if they were allowed to continue their practice of weeping there in that way. There was thus a dispute between Mangal and the *Bunnahs*. I asked him to show his documents, if he had any, to prove that he had his alleged right to the portion or space of the *ghat* that he occupied. He and his servant, one Bábu Nandan, produced several papers before me, and I found this *firman* among them. It has since then been all along in his possession.

Such being the occasion when this precious deed was found, as narrated by the Khan Bahadur, I felt convinced of its authenticity, and examined the document carefully and noticed that it was a slightly yellowish piece of old paper with a piece of thin linen pasted at the back leaving bare only a small portion, $4\frac{1}{2}$ " inches by 4" inches, containing writings and Sultan Muhammad's seal $1\frac{1}{2}$ " inches in diameter. It is in an excellent state of preservation and the handwriting is very distinct and legible and the letters bold and large. The whole is written in deep black ink, excepting a small portion at the top 3 " inches by $2\frac{1}{4}$ " inches written in red in an ornate style enclosed within some lines in the form of an oblong in the middle at the top of the first page and to the left of the seal of Aurangzeb. The document measures 2 feet $10\frac{1}{2}$ " inches by 1 foot $5\frac{1}{2}$ " inches. On the next page appears in smaller letters the note of despatch through Prince Sultan Muhammad Bahadur with his seal on the right. This seal has some numerals looking like some dates but are not very legible.

From the papers contributed by Prof. Jadunath Sarkar in the *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, Vol. II, No. 6 (New Series), 1906, pp. 223--267, with copies of two other *firman*s of Emperor Aurangzeb, in respect to certain Revenue Regulations and fiscal measures and certain rules for the guidance of Shaista Khan in connection with the Government of Bengal, it would appear that this monarch was after all not exactly what he had been represented to be, and that he was rather solicitous for ensuring peace and security to his subjects.

With a view that further researches may be made in respect to this matter by antiquarian experts, I append herewith a copy of the *firman* (and a translation of it in English, for which I am indebted to Shamsul Ulamaḥ Maulvī Kamalud-dīn Ahmad, and Maulvī Abdul Latif).

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم

مشور لایع المور اورنگ شاه

بہادر غازی

محمد اورنگ زیب شاه

بہادر غازی اس

صاحب قرآن نای

لایق العبادۃ والخدمۃ ابوالحسن بالدعات شہادۃ امجدوار بودہ دادند
کہ چون بمقتضای مراحم دای و مکارم حبلی ہمگی ہمت والا بہمت و ہماہمی
بیت حق طوبت ما بر رفہایت جمہور الام و انتظام احوال طبقات خواص و عوام
مصرفوست - و ار روی شرع شریف و ملت مدبف مقرر چہیں است کہ دترہاء
دیریں برانداخت بشود و بتکدہا بارہ ندادند - و درس انام معدلت انتظام
معروض اشرف اقدس ارفع اعلیٰ رسید کہ بعض مردم از رالا عیب و تعدی بہبود
سکنت قصہ بنارس و برخی امکانہ دیگر کہ نواحی آن واقعست و جماعت
برہمدان مدنتہ آنمحال کہ سدابت بدعالباء و دیم انہا ناہا بعلق دارد مراحم
و معروض میشود و میخواہد کہ انالرا از سدابت آن کہ از مدت مدید ناہا
مدعلق است بار دارند و اندمعنی باعث پیرسانی و معرفہ حال اس گروہ میگردد
لہذا حکم والا صادر میشود کہ بعد از ورود اس مشور لایع المور مقرر کد کہ
من بعد احدی بوحولہ بحساب معروض و بسویش باحوال برہمدان و دیگر ہندو
معروطہ آنمحال برساند نا انہا بدسخور انام پیشیں بجا و مقام خود بودہ
بکومت خاطر بدعاء بقاء دولت (خدا) داد اند مدت ارل بپیان پیام نمایند -
درس باب ناکیہ دارند * بنارس ۱۵ شہر حمادی الثانیہ سنہ ۱۰۴۹ ہجری
درشلہ شدہ *

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48. A Firman of Emperor Aurangzeb.

By RAJANI RANJAN SEN, B L, *with a translation of the
Firman by* LIEUT-COLONEL D O PHILLOTT

While at Benares last October I happened to come across a document of a unique nature likely to be of much interest to the antiquarian and the historian alike Messrs Saeed Brothers, Photographers, of Benares, gave me a photo copy of a *firman* in Persian which they alleged to be a true and faithful reproduction of the original, which purported to be an imperial decree addressed to one Abul Hosein by Emperor Aurangzeb and communicated through his son Sultan Muhammad Bahadoor

All historians have up to time been almost unanimous in giving to Aurangzeb a character directly opposed to what appears from the above document He has been held to be bitterly opposed to the Hindus as evidenced by his imposition of the *Jiziah* tax, and has further been reputed to have demolished numbers of Hindu temples at Benares, and erected the mosque over the Pancha Ganga Ghat in that city with the couple of tall minarets going by the name of *Madhoji ka-deora* upon the ruins of the old temple of Beni Madhav which he had destroyed As it was, I confess, I could not but look upon the document in question without considerable suspicion I therefore thought it proper to keep silence till I obtained satisfactory and authentic informations regarding the existence of the original On another flying visit to Benares I was enabled to get a sight of the original *firman* itself through the courtesy of Khan Bahadur Sheik Muhammad Tyab, City Inspector of Police, Benares

This gentleman, who sent for the document from its present owner for my inspection, gave the following history in connection with its find —

In the Munglá Gauri Muhulla of this city (Benares) lived a Brahmin named Gopi Upádhyáya who died about 15 years ago This *firman* was in the custody of Gopi Upadhyáya This man had no son, but had a daughter His daughter has a son named Mangal Pándey who also lives at Mungla Gauri now Mangal Pandey had obtained the document from Gopi Upádhyáya along with his other papers In April, 1905, I held an enquiry under orders of the Magistrate of Benares in the matter of a complaint by Mangal Pándey Mangal is a *ghatra* Brahmin, who sits on the river-bank to ply his business as a

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Dhyanagrahopadesādhya by Brahmagupta, edited
with his own Commentary by M M Sudhākara Dvivedin
Benares, 1902
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Arch Math Leipzig, 8, 1904
- 54 1 SITA RAM —Our ancient Mathematics—Arithmetic [a
portion of the LĪLĀVATĪ translated into Hindi, with
introduction in English] *Moradabad*, 1904
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Verhandl d dritten internat Mathematiker Kongresses,
Leipzig, 1905, pp 556-558 *Leipzig* 1905
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- 58 VOGT, H —Der pythagoreischen Lehrsatz in der ältesten
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(Sanskrit text, English translation and notes This is
really an advance copy of a work not yet actually
published, kindly supplied to me by the author)

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10 *RAKHI SOHDA* ~~potemic~~ *Rakhi* ~~of Rakhii~~ being derived from Lahr—a string of saliva—or in detail, that fine string of spittle which sometimes on expectoration reaches like a thread from the lips to the ground. This sounds a fantastic sort of totem, but a simple explanation is that in some mysterious way it was in the form of “a thread of saliva” that the first ancestor of this sept was born. It is of course well known that spitting is sometimes used as a charm and we have it in

1 See J A S B Folk Song and Folklore of the Gehara (Kanjars), p 437, vol vii, No 7. The following extract from Mr Crooke's “*Tribes and Castes*” p 71 vol 3, on the Julaha is interesting. One proverb embodies a curious piece of folklore. “The Julaha lost his way in a linseed field.” *Julaha bhutaurle tse khet*. A Julaha is supposed to have taken the linseed field covered with blue flowers for a river and tried to swim it. As a parallel Mr Christian (Behar Proverbs 137) quotes from Kingsley's “*The Roman and The Teuton*” “A madness from God came over the Herules, when they came to a field of flax they took the blue flowers for water, and spread out their arms to swim through and were all slaughtered defencelessly.” He might have added that the same tale appears in No 149 of Grimm's “*German Stories*”

47. A Brief Bibliography of Hindu Mathematics

By G. R. KAYE

To those who are not already familiar with, but are interested in the literature of the subject, the following list of works dealing with the history of Hindu mathematics may be of some value. The list does not profess to be complete—indeed such a list must always be open to emendation—but it is hoped that it will be found useful.

It has been somewhat difficult to draw a line of demarcation between works to be included and works that should be excluded from the list. For example, it might be somewhat difficult to justify the inclusion of Montucla's 'Histoire,' Alberuni's 'India,' etc., while Hankel's and Cantor's great works¹ are excluded. An attempt has, however, been made to keep the list within proper bounds, and very few works not bearing directly on the subject in hand are given. Naturally, the works listed vary in value, and their value to the student depends to some extent upon his point of view. To one first tackling the subject perhaps Cantor's *Vorlesungen*² is the best introduction, but the material upon which real work is to be done is contained in the original Hindu works edited by Colebrooke, Kern, Thibaut, Hoernle, Divyedi, Rangāchārya and others. These studied in the light of some knowledge of the history of Western mathematics³ will give much interest and ample results.

The list now given requires supplementing in several directions, the list of Sanskrit texts requires amplification, and a list of mathematical works, now only in manuscript, is greatly desired.

It will be noticed that the original Hindu works mentioned do not go beyond the time of Bhāskara (twelfth century A. D.), after which period Hindu mathematical works cease to have special historical interest.

- 1 MONTUCLA, J. F. — Histoire des Mathématiques, dans lesquelles on rend compte de leur progrès depuis leur origine jusqu'à nos jours, etc. Paris, 1799-1802.

¹ Hankel *Zur Geschichte der mathematik in Altertum und Mittelalter*
Cantor M. *Vorlesungen über Geschichte der Mathematik*

² There is nothing really adequate in the English language.

³ The Indian student is recommended to read at least Gow's *Short History of Greek Mathematics*. Heath's *Diophantus of Alexandria*, and, where possible, Woepcke's and Suter's works on Arabic mathematics.

Mungo Parks' Travels, Chapter VI, that Holy Spittle is very firmly believed in by the Christian of Abyssinia

TRIBAL TOTEMS The tribal totems of the Gehara Kanjars—quite independent of the Exogamous septs—totems in fact common to the whole section, are first and foremost — The Dog—anyone killing a dog is outcasted and not re admitted to the *Bradari* until he has expiated his sin in the Ganges Other totems which they are barred from eating, though they may kill them, are the Horse, Ass, Snake, Tiger, Wolf, Cheel (kite), Gidh (vulture)¹ and Parrot Every other animal or bird in the world may be, and as many as are procurable, are eaten by all Kanjars

¹ *Gidh* = a vulture The Agariyas have a sept who will not throw a stone at a vulture, and Sir Herbert Risley mentions a similar sept of Bengal Orias The Berihas have a sectional name—*gidhmar* or vulture killer Such occupational titles of septs seem to indicate an original hunting state, and we have *Dhanuk* (from *Dhānū*—a bow) *Syarmar* = jackal slayer, *gohhar* = iguana-catcher *Sampera*, the snake man *Bahlhā* from *Bahah* or *bahar* a falcon, and dozens of other such sectional names occurring among castes who are actually classified by Mr Nesfield (Brief View of Caste system of the N W Provinces and Oudh by J C Nesfield) as allied to the Hunting State The status of all these tribes is so low that I would rather declare them to be "Casteless tribes" allied to the Hunting State

history of ~~Western Mathematics~~ will give much interest and ample results

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¹ Hankel *Zur Geschichte der mathematik in Altertum und Mittelalter*
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cupping'' to curing corns, and in a very short while collected a book full of chits from grateful British soldiers—the British soldier it was explained to me 'always had corns'' Besides the cupping operation which I have described and which when applied to corns had all the appearance of a literal extraction, my friend learnt how to operate on ingrowing toe nails and the treatment by cupping of cases of flat feet, and so on. He was from his book of chits, when I knew him, a most successful practising Chiropodist among the British soldiers and sailors in Bombay.

3 *GOH-HER* Totemic, but I am afraid the Totemic value is not very great as catching the Goh or *gohsomp* (*iguana*) is pretty generally carried out by the whole Gehara section. The taboo only remains as a suggestion. Mr Crooke classifies the Goher as an iguana-catcher—this is probably what the original totemic taboo has deteriorated into.

4 *NAKPHŪLA* I was for some time led astray by a Kanjar shikari who called his sept *Nákphūla* or *nag phand*, a common vernacular name for the prickly-pear cactus,¹ and if I had been content not to have this confirmed by more knowledgeable members of the clan, I would have put it down as a Totemic Exogamous sept with the cactus as Totem. This is entirely wrong—it is an Eponymous or more correctly a nickname sept whose founder acquired a swollen nose. *Vide* Sir Herbert Risley's "Peoples of India" for a few extravagant nicknames of founders of septs and divisions. But are these names really as absurd as they sound to us? I feel certain that the application of the term *nák phhoola*, which means "swollen nose," in this case has some definite relation to the very widely observed superstitions connected with nostrils. Nostril Lore, as it may be termed, has a wide influence all over India. One idea is that no individual in normal health

¹ *Nágphūl* or *Nag Phal* = snake fruit, probably from the resemblance of the broad prickly leaf with the flower on top to a cobra with expanded hood. Dr. Burkill has kindly given me the following interesting note—'There are several species of *Opuntia* in India, their origin is America and the earliest to reach India probably came in before 1700. There is, however, no evidence of its coming whereby to fix the date.'

"You speak of Nagphula, but I know rather the name as Nagphana. Nagphana or Nagphani is the general name in Northern and Central India, and in the mouths of the people the name is connected with Nag—the cobra and phana, the whole meaning the cobra's hood. Nagadali is a Madras name and in Tamil Naga means a cobra, the name means snake's head. Naga-mulla is said to be a Malay name and there Naga means a dragon."

"In 1766 the Madras Government in an order called the plant 'Naga kulli or Naga dalli kulli.' How and when these vernacular names became attached to *Opuntia* I do not know. I have no evidence that they were used for another plant before *Opuntia* became common in India."

breathes through both nostrils simultaneously Breathing through the right nostril indicates the influence of the Sun—through the left the influence of the Moon There are millions of people in India influenced by Nostril Lore Where a Brahmin is not available for consultation the action of the nostrils is regarded as an equally good oracle Any Kahar in the North-Western Provinces knows that he breathes through his right nostril up to twelve o'clock midday, and for the second half of the day through his left nostril, or if he is going out to plough his fields, or is starting on a journey, or is setting out to seek a situation, he consults his nostrils by applying his thumb to his left nostril, and if he finds his right nostril is the active one the omen is propitious, otherwise his adventure is doomed to failure

If the nostrils fulfil the functions of a sort of *vade mecum* substitute for the family Brahmin, an ancestor with a swollen nose surely comes within the scope of Nostril Lore Crooke mentions *Neta* as a section of the Badi Nats—a tribe very closely allied to the Kanjar—"Neta, which they say means the "mucus of the nose," in which form they came out of the "nose of their first ancestor"—here we have some more undoubted "nostril lore" which probably also has some bearing on the origin of the Gehara sept whose founder had a "swollen nose"

5 *UNTWAR* or *UTWAR*, of Totemic origin, but also possibly explained by the occupation indicated *Utwar* or *Untwar* = Untwallah = the camel man The Kanjars appear to be the only "caste" or tribe in India with an Exogamous sept of this name I am inclined to suggest the name might be taken as an indication of some locality where the tribe was at one time in contact with camels, or were possibly occupied as camel-drivers probably in Rajputana and further North

6 *MARAIYA* Mr Nesfield and Mr Crooke give the derivation as "worshippers of Mari"—Mari being a corrupted form of Maharani, the supreme deity of the Kanjar and some allied tribes But I think the fact that *Maraiya*, or *Marrid*, is a common Urdu word for a Kutcha hut (*Mákan*) made of *Sirki* (*Saccharum Roxb*) plastered over with mud, and the fact that till very recently the Kanjars never under any circumstances lived in anything so substantial as a *Márrid*, indicates either that the name *Máráiya* is given to a particular gang or camp because they lived in mud-plastered huts, different in this respect from the rest of the tribe, or that the whole tribe were given the name of *Márria*, or *Maraiya* because of their peculiarity in living in open air encampments and never in huts or houses In support of my derivation of the word that living in anything like a house or Marria was for some reason 'taboo,' I have the opinions of several Kanjars who explained that the

Mr Crooke's several lists collected from various districts include Maraiya, Bhains, Sunkat, Soda, Goher, Sonra, Untwar. Mr Crooke¹ among several other names of divisions mentions the Lohiya or "iron-men" and the Lakarhar or "wood men". An early note I made excludes the *Bard Bhains* and *Sainak Soda* and includes instead the *Lakarhar* and *Lohiya*. I think, however, these two latter are merely functional or occupational divisions.

Sherring says, "the Kanjars have seven clans," the Maraiya, Soda, Sunkat, Lakarhar, Bhains and Goher and Dhobans—of these he says, "the first six eat together and intermarry—and only the first four are found in Benares, the remaining three inhabit the country further west."

1 *BHAINS* Totemic, *Bhains* = a Buffalo. This is a pure example of an Exogamous totemistic "sept bearing the name of an animal, a tree, a plant, or some material object, natural or artificial which the members of that sept are prohibited from killing, eating, cutting, burning, carrying, using, etc." The Geharas themselves have suggested to me, and I believe the suggestion has a strong bearing on the origin of totemism, that in the Bhains or buffalo as a totem we have an instance of totemism born of reverence. Though the sept is now inclined to be totemic the name is of occupational derivation, the founder of the family was a Bhainswallah or Buffalo herder. Buffalo is a fairly common divisional name among the casteless tribes. Richardson in his "Account of the Bazeegais or Nuts" says, "they are subdivided into seven castes (sic), viz the Charee, Athbhyea, *Bynsa*, Pa-buttea, Kalkoor, Dorkinee and Gungwar, but the difference seems only in name, for they live together and intermarry as one people."² *Bynsa* is clearly recognizable as *Bhains*.

R. V. Russell, in Census of India, 1901, Central Provinces, gives one of the Clan Totems of the Ahirs as *bhainsa* and of the Halbas—*Mshia* = a buffalo, of the totemic clans of the Boyas of the Deccan we have one called the Yenumalu = Buffaloes. The Balijas (see Census of India, Madras, Part I), the chief trading caste in the Southern Presidency, have an Exogamous clan bearing the same name Yenumalu = a buffalo. The Komatis of Madras have a buffalo totemic clan = *Enupa*. The Sansis or Sansi Kanjars have three divisions, the Karkhal, Chaidih and *Mahais*, *Mahais* = buffalo. The Beriys also have an Exogamous sept called Bhains, thus clearly establishing a connection between the Beriys and Kanjars as it does

¹ Crooke's Tribes and Castes see Article on Kanjars

² Here we have Capt. Richardson unconsciously discovering an Endogamous tribe divided into Exogamous septs "for they live together and intermarry as one people." It was not till sixty years later that McLellan definitely discovered and explained Endogamy and Exogamy.

between the Nats and Sansias and Kanjars. As an instance of the tendency now so active among Gypsy tribes, who as they gradually settle down, throw off their old gypsy habits and adopt Hindu traditions, Mr Crooke says,¹ "It is significant that the Bhains section (of Kanjars) of Buduan have changed their name into Baiswar, and are beginning to claim a connection with the Bais Rajputs."

2 *BAID BHAINS* Functional and partly Totemic, an offshoot, I believe, of the Bhains

Baid or *Vaid* a physician, an honorific title indicating the reputation the Kanjars like all Gypsy tribes have in the dispensing of quack medicines, simples, love philtres and so forth—the ingredients Geharas commonly use being jungle herbs, oil extracted from sand lizards and other reptiles and animals, Jackal's fat and Hyaena's whiskers. The whole clan of Geharas lay claim to the occupational description *Singhiwallah*, meaning 'Horn folk,' who use horns for cupping with, and they have an established practice in all the villages in the Districts. Acting on the principle of a counter irritant relieving pain they earn as much as a rupee for an operation. Only the Gehara men, and not both men and women as with the Gulgulias and others in Bengal, act as operators, the method employed being as follows

About 1½ inches of the tip of a cow's horn with a minute hole at the point, a small lump of wax, and a sacrificator or rough lancet complete the outfit. The patient, we will suppose, has a pain in the chest. A small spot on the subject's chest, on or about the seat of the pain, is washed and cleaned, and rubbed hard with the finger, then with the lancet two or three scratches are made and the operator with the *singri* (horn tip) in his lips, point *inside* the mouth applies the base of the *singhi* to the patient's skin and sucks hard for about a minute. Meantime he has the wax in his mouth being worked into a proper consistency, and when a sufficiently strong vacuum has been formed, the wax is adroitly transferred on to the pinhole on the tip of the horn. Two or three taps with the finger nail to see that the suction is quite strong, and the horn is allowed to remain sticking to the patient for ten or fifteen minutes. When removed a cone of coagulated blood is shown as the "poison" extracted. To show how even the Kanjar Singhiwallah can adapt himself to the requirements of the West and is not above picking up some of the benefits of Angrezi rule, I would digress further and mention the case of a genuine Gehara Kanjar who was introduced to me with pride as an *Angrezi bolnewallah* (a speaker of English). He had somehow, as a boy, got in touch with a British Regiment in Nasirabad (Rajputana), and being an adept *singhiwallah* he applied his "art of

¹ Crooke's Tribes and Castes, Vol III, p 138

this absorption of the casteless tribes of India into Hinduism of the fourth degree (Sudra) presents many pitfalls

The original gang system as we know enforced a rigid recognition of the custom of "marrying out," or, as it is now called, *Exogamy*, and these *Exogamous* divisions might well all have been of totemic origin—of a totemism born of reverence for some particular animal, or part of an animal, or implement or natural object, or some matter bearing a relation to some natural object, or natural function, or it may have been a totemism induced by some function, or object related to an occupation. A totemic sept is not always an *Exogamous* sept, the one can be entirely independent of, or it may overlap, the other

The *Exogamous* sept can also have a local or communal origin, and there is another class of *Exogamous* division namely, the *Eponymous*—"The ancestor," to quote Sir Herbert Risley, "who gives his name to the group, being either a Vedic saint (as with the Brahmans and the castes who imitate them) or a chief of comparatively modern date as with the Rajputs and others"¹

This form of divisional ancestral appellation—the *Eponym*—has hitherto been the close preserve of the Higher Hindu castes. To the aspirant to Hinduism there is an obvious attraction to be able to point to an *Eponymous* founder rather than to an inanimate totem

Finally, we have the *Titular* or nickname group, which is common and nowadays perhaps the most popular, because with a little ingenuity and the help of the subsidized Brahman it is always possible to convert the most obvious and outrageous nickname into some one of the divine names from the Hindu Pantheon

One is tempted to speculate here whether the *Exogamous* septs which we find existing among these Gypsy like tribes—not to be too sweeping I would say—whether the social organization of all Kanjars—has been created or founded on an *Exogamous* base in imitation of the social customs prevailing in Hinduism, or is it not more likely that the laws of *Exogamy* originating with the primeval hordes and "camps" have been adopted of necessity—collaterally with the expansion of Hinduism and the development of the caste system

The whole question of Totemism and *Exogamy* is dealt with exhaustively by Professor J. G. Frazer in his monumental work "*Totemism and Exogamy*," and the subject in its relation to Indian tribes and castes has been thoroughly studied and explained by both Mr. W. Crooke² and Sir Herbert Risley³

¹ H. H. Risley, *Peoples of India*, p. 15

² Crooke's *Tribes and Castes of the N. W. Provinces of India*

³ Sir Herbert Risley, "*The Peoples of India*"

The simple rule of Exogamy that the *bride must be selected from an encampment different from that of the bridegroom*¹ is observed by the *Sansias, Haburas*, and other Gypsy tribes allied to the Kanjars, and I have no doubt this practice was prevalent among the Kunchbandia Kanjars when they still pursued a true nomadic life. As we know them to day, although they are more and more inclined to become settled, the Kanjars remain divided up into several Exogamous septs in which are discernible the remnants of the camp system, and this is Exogamy in its most primitive form.

The Gehara Endogamous section of Kanjars is subdivided into ten Exogamous septs. Of these, I place eight as true, and two as 'spurious'. I believe two septs are latter-day inventions created to cover up some breach of the Exogamic law—their names would suggest this. It may be, the eight septs were found to be short of either men or women, and the *creation* of a new Exogamous sept became an absolute necessity to maintain the Endogamic value of the whole section. There is further justification in fixing the number of true Exogamous septs of the Gehara at eight, in that the two I term 'spurious' were not known to all the members of the tribe, while every adult man, and even boys, knew the eight *pukka gôt*. Mr Nesfield in his *Account of the Kanjars*² says, they "profess to have seven clans, of whom five are well established, and four can be explained by their crafts," but Mr Nesfield did not apparently appreciate that these seven "clans," as he calls them, were "Exogamous septs!" Mr Crooke considers the enumeration given to him "by an Aligarh correspondent," who ascribes nine sections to the Kunchbandia Kanjars, as "the most accurate and complete."³

The ten Exogamous septs of the Geharas discovered to me are—

- 1 *Bhains*
- 2 *Bard Bhains*
- 3 *Goh-her or Garlôth*
- 4 *Nakphûla*
- 5 *Ūntwîr*
- 6 *Marâyâ.*
- 7 *Sunkat*
- 8 *Sohnrâ*
- 9 *Sarnak Sohda*
- 10 *Râi i Sohda*

Of the above the two doubtful septs are the *Bard Bhains* and *Sarnak Sohda*. Nesfield's list of "clans" includes the *Marâyâ, Bhains, Sunkat, Gohar (Goh-her)* and *Soda (or Sohda)*.

¹ See *History of Human Marriage*—Westermarck

² *Calcutta Review* LXXVII, 364 sqq

³ *Crooke's Tribes and Castes*, vol III, p 137

46 Exogamous Septs of the Gehara Section of Kunch-
bandia Kanjars.

By W KIRKPATRICK

“If we are to understand the rise and history of Totemism
“and Exogamy, we must clearly apprehend that totemism
“existed in all its essential features before exogamy was
“thought of, in other words, that exogamy was an innovation
“imposed on communities who were already divided into
“totemic classes

“The totemic clan is a totally different social organism
“from the exogamous class, and we have good grounds for
“thinking that it is far older”

J G FRAZER,

Totemism and Exogamy, vol 1v, p 75

The Geharas are an Endogamous section of the tribes of a Gypsy character scattered over India, and known under the generic name of Kanjar¹ While it is conceivable that the Geharas, like most other hitherto casteless peoples in India, will receive into their camp members—particularly women—of allied tribes, the inclination is towards a strict observance of the Endogamic practice This marrying within the clan is inculcated in one of their socio-religious songs “*Gehari Karsi tho nao chalsi, Kajari Karsi tho nao na chalsi*,” “Marry a Gehari and your (our) name will continue, marry an outsider and your (our) name will disappear”²

While Endogamous, as a section or clan the Geharas are divided up into a number of Exogamous septs, some of totemic and others of functional origin I will not attempt to definitely fix on the exact origin of each sept, but it is abundantly clear that whatever may have been the structure of the original primal clan or camp, and whatever its original Exogamous or Endogamous divisions, the process of splitting up into Endogamous sections and Exogamous sub-sections has taken on a new lease of activity under Brahmanical influence To the field worker in Sociological Ethnology who would determine the origin of the various descriptive names of the sub sections and septs of these so-called Dravidian and Gypsy-like tribes,

¹ See J A S B , vol vii, No 6, Pasi Poh or Argot of Kunchbandiya Kanjars

² See J A S B , vol vii, No 7, Folk Song and Folk-lore of the Gehara Kanjars

وله — ۳۸۶

دیا طلبان ر حرص مستند همه — مری گش و درمون پرسند همه
هر عهد که با حدای بستند همه — ار دوستی حرص شکستند همه

وله — ۳۸۷

عالم بود او نه رعیت — اری بهری جاری بطورهای تاری
والد همه طورهای بهر جاری — سرست حقیقه الحقائق صاری

وله — ۳۸۸

تحقیق معانی ر عبارات معنوی — بیع قیود و اعتقادات معنوی
خواهی بانی رعیت جعل شعاع — قانون ساط ار اشارات معنوی

وله — ۳۸۹

هستی که ظهور می کند در همه شی — خواهی که بری بحال وی با همه پی
رو بر سر می حباب را پس که چنان — می وی بود اندروی و وی درمی وی

وله — ۳۹۰

گرشهره شری شهر و شر الناسی — ورحانه سیدی همگی وسواسی
نه ران نمود که همچو حصرو الناس — کس شناسد ترا تو کس شناسی

وله — ۳۹۱

دیع دنی پر هوس را چه کنی — آلوده هر ناکس و کس را چه کنی
آن نار طلب کن که نورا باشد و بس — معشوقه صدهزار کس را چه کنی

وله — ۳۹۲

گر در طلب گوهر کالی کالی — گردیده بدوی وصل حافی حافی
العصه حدیث مطلق ار من شدو — هرچیز که در حست آبی آبی

وله — ۳۹۳

خواهی چو حایل کعبه نیاد کنی — و آنرا بهار و طاعت آباد کنی
روزی دو هزار بنده آزاد کنی — نه ران نمود که خاطری شاد کنی

وله — ۳۹۴

ای در حم چوگانِ نو سرها شده گوی بیرون نه رومانِ تو دل بکسر موی
ظاهر که بدستِ ماست آنرا نشستم باطن که بدستِ توست آنرا تو بشوی

وله — ۳۹۵

مم حمله نصیبِ چرخِ حم نایستی یا داعمِ من صیر بهم نایستی
یا مایهٔ عم چو عمر کم نایستی نا عمر نا دادرأ عم نایستی

وله — ۳۹۶

ای خالقِ ذوالعلالِ هر جانوری وی رهرو رهنمایِ هر بندگی
دستم کمر امید بردرگاهِ تو بگشایِ دری که من ندارم حدی

وله — ۳۹۷

ای داتِ تو در صفاتِ اعیانِ ساری اوصافِ تو در صفاتِ شانِ متواری
وصفِ تو چو داتِ مطلق است اصابت در صفتِ مطاهر از تقصیر عاری

وله — ۳۹۸

ای دل اگر آن عارضِ دلجو بینی درآت همان را همه بیکو بینی
در آینه کم نگر که خود بدی نشوی خود آینه شو نا همگی او بینی

وله — ۳۹۹

وصافیِ خود بر عمِ حاسد نا کی فروجِ چلیس متاعِ کاسد نا کی
تو معدومیِ خیالِ هستی از تو فاسد باشد خیالِ فاسد نا کی

وله — ۴۰۰

تا بری علائق و عوائقِ نکسی یک مسجدهٔ شایستهٔ لائقِ نکسی
حقا که ردام لات و عریِ نرهی تا تریِ خود و حملهٔ حلائقِ نکلی

وله — ۴۰۱

هستی که عیان نیست دوا آن در شانی در شانِ دگر حله کد در آنی
این نکته بحرِ رگلِ بومِ میِ شأن گر بایست از کلامِ حق برهانی

وله — ۳۷۰

هان باران هوی‌ها حواله‌وران هو مردی کنی و نگاه‌داری سر کو
گر تیر جهان رسد که بشکافد مو باد که رنک‌گر نگ‌وردانی رو

وله — ۳۷۱

مشق است که شیر بر ربون آند ارو ار هرچه گمان بری فزون آند ارو
که دشمنی کند که مهر افرازد که دوستی که بوی خون آند ارو

وله — ۳۷۲

دورم اگر از سعادت حـدمت تو پیوسته دلمت آندت طاعت تو
ار گرمی آفتاب هـم‌رم چه عیست دارم چوپایه سایه دولت تو

وله — ۳۷۳

ای ناله پیر حانع‌اله ار عم تو وی گریه طفل بیگ‌اله ار عم تو
افغان و خروش صد گاه ار عم تو آه ار عم تو هزار آه ار عم تو

وله — ۳۷۴

ای آینه را داده حاکم صورت تو یک آینه کس ندید بی صورت تو
بی لی که ر لطف در همه آینه‌ها خود آینه دیدن صورت تو

وله — ۳۷۵

اوست که خون دیده دارد عم تو رهسب که نریاق ندارد عم تو
در هر نفسی هزار محبت رده را بیدل کند و ر دس بر آرد عم تو

وله — ۳۷۶

درد دل من دواش میدانی تو سوردل من سزاش میدانی تو
من مرق که پرده عصیان در پیش بدنها چه کنم که واش میدانی تو

وله — ۳۷۷

من می شوم که می بختانی تو هر جا که شکسته است آنجائی تو
ما حمله شکستگان درگاه تویدم در حال شکستگان چه برمائی تو

وله — ۳۷۸

ای سدری سدره بهاران از تو وی سرخی روی گله‌داران از تو
آه دل و اشک بیقراران از تو فریاد که باد از تو و باران از تو

وله — ۳۷۹

ای پیر و جوان دهر شاد از عمر تو فارغ دل هیچکس صناد از عمر تو
مسکین من بیچاره در این عالم خاک سرگردانم چو گرد باد از عمر تو

وله — ۳۸۰

هجران لورا چو گرم شد هگامه بر آتش من قطره فنان از حامه
من رفتم و سرخ روح من پیش تو ماند با هیچ و کدوثر از تو آرد ناصه

وله — ۳۸۱

بهریست نه کاهنده نه افزاینده اصواح ترا و رویده و آینه
مالم چو عمارت از همین اصواح است نبود دورمان بلکه دو آن پاینده

وله — ۳۸۲

دارم صلی چهره در افروخته با حور و حلا و ستم آموخته
از عاشق دنگری و من عاشق از پروانه صفت سوخته سوخته

وله — ۳۸۳

در گفتن دگر حق زبان از همه نه طاعت که شب کنی بهان از همه نه
خواهی ریل صراط آسان گداری ناس ده دهپایان که نان از همه نه

وله — ۳۸۴

چشمم که سرشک لاله گون آورده و هر صوفه و طره‌های خون آورده
بی بی نظاره ات دل خون شده ام از روین سینه سر بیرون آورده

وله — ۳۸۵

ایک سرگوشی دوست اینک سر را گریه‌جوی رویدگانرا چه گدا
حامه چه کی کند و نیلی و سیاه دل صاف کن و قنا همین پوش و کلاه

وله — ۳۵۴

در درگاه ما دوستی یک دله کن هر چیر که صبر مناسب آترا بله کن
یک صبح باحلاص بیا بر در ما گر کار تو بر نماند آنگاه گلش کن

وله — ۳۵۵

ار سادۀ بروی شیخ رنگ آوردن ناهوس بکعبه در درنگ آوردن
اسلام بحال و رنگ آوردن ندوان - ندوان نورا بچنگ آوردن

وله — ۳۵۶

مریاد ر دست فلک پیروئ کادر بر من نه تو بهشت و نه کهن
با این همه لیزشگر می نابد کرد گریس بدم کند که گوید که مکن

وله — ۳۵۷

بحرست و خود حال در آن صوح زبان را بحر ندیده عیر صوح اهل جهان
ار ناطق بحر صوح هین گشته عیان بر طاهر بحر و بحر در صوح جهان

وله — ۳۵۸

مریاد ر دست و یک آئینه گون کر حور و حقای او حکم دارم حور
روزی بهزار غم شب می آرم با خود فلک ار پرده چه آرد برون

وله — ۳۵۹

با گلرخ خویش گفتم ای عشقه دهان هر لحظه می پوش چهره چون عشوه گران
زد حننه که من بعکس جوان جهان در پرده عیان باشم و بی پرده جهان

وله — ۳۶۰

رد شعله بدل آتش پنهالی من ر اندازۀ گذشت محدث حاجی من
معدوم اگر سخن پریشان افشاد معلوم شود مگر بر پویشانی من

وله — ۳۶۱

بگر جهان سر الهی پنهان چون آب حیات در سباهی پنهان
پیدا آمد ر بحر ماهی اهوا شد بحر ز اندوهی ماهی پنهان

وله — ۳۴۲

چون حق بداصلی شدون گشت عیان مشهود شد این عالم در سود و ریان
گر بار رواند عالم و عالمیان با رنده احوال حق آید عیان

وله — ۳۴۳

* صوفی گوید که دلق پشیمیده من سلطان گوید که بعد گنجیده من
عاشق گوید که رار دریده من من دادم و دل که چیسب در سیده من

وله — ۳۴۴

ای در همه شأن دات بویاک از همه نفس نه در حق تو کف دوان گف نه آن
از روی بعل همه عیبرد صافات با دات تو و روی تحقیق همه عین

وله — ۳۴۵

دنا گدراں معذب دنیا گدراں بی بر پدراں صاند وای بر پسران
با نذوانی عمر نظامت گدراں بدگر که ملک چه می کند با دگران

وله — ۳۴۶

گر سبب سپهر گردد آید چیں ورنه آنکه مولاد شود روی رمیں
از روزی تو کم نشود دان بقیس مدد آنکه چلیدست و چلید است و چلید

وله — ۳۴۷

دروسی کن و قصد در شاه مکن و در دامن فقر دست کوتا مکن
اندر دهس نار شو و مال محسوس در چاه بشن و طلب حال مکن

وله — ۳۴۸

اسرار دل را نه تودانی و نه من و نه حرف معما نه تودانی و نه من
هست از پس پرده گفتگوی من و تو چون برده برانده تودانی و نه من

وله — ۳۴۹

ای آمده کار من دهسان از عم تو بگ آمده در دلم جهان از عم تو
هان ای دل و دندلا با سر بر نکم حای همه دشب حاوران از عم تو

* This Quatrain is the same as Quatrain No 352 *supra*, the first line of the one being the second line of the other It has been inserted twice through inadvertence

وله — ۳۳۸

با باد تو با دیدم بر می آیم و در باد شوق پیغمبر می آیم
انام مرا چون سر آمده است من پیروز سوی تو سر می آیم

وله — ۳۳۹

گر در سفرم توئی رفیق سفرم و در حصرم توئی ایس حصرم
هر جا که نشینم و هر جا گذرم جز تو نبود هیچ مراد دگرم

وله — ۳۴۰

در حصرت پادشاه دوران ما بدم در دایره وجود سلطان ما بدم
منطور حلق است این میبده ما بس حام جهان این حلقان ما بدم

وله — ۳۴۱

دی ناره گلی ر گلشن آورد نسیم کرنگهت آن مشام جان بافت شمیم
بی بی ملطم که صیحه بود از نسیم مشکین رقیس معطر از حلق کریم

وله — ۳۴۲

نه از سرکار با حلل می رسم بی پدر بصد راصل می رسم
رسم که گناه نیست آمرزش هست از ساعد و بر ارل می رسم

وله — ۳۴۳

چون آن شده ام که دید نتواندم تا بدش تو ای نگار نشاندم
چون دره بحر شدیدی همی پیوندد حورشید توئی دره من ماندم

وله — ۳۴۴

این نعت ندارم که نکامت بدم با درگداری هم بهالت بدم
وصل تو به هیچ گونه دسدم ناند ناهت بهوسم و بهالت بدم

وله — ۳۴۵

بیچشم بر باد برگس بر نکم بی لعل تو آرزوی کونر نکم
گر حصرم بی تو دهد آب حیات کافر باشم که بی تولد بر نکم

وله — ۳۴۶

ما قلله طاعت آن دو رو میدادیم ایمان سر رلف مشکدر میدادیم
با این همه دلداریها بیکسو نیست ما طالع خویش را بیکسو میدادیم

وله — ۳۴۷

رامپزش حان وں توئی مقصودم ور مردن ورستن توئی مقصودم
تو دیری که من برفتم ربهان گرم گویم رمن توئی مقه — ودم

وله — ۳۴۸

بیدرد نو اندیشه درمان نکم بی رلف نو آروزی ایمان نکم
حانا نو اگر حان طلای خویش باشد اندیشه حان برای حایان نکم

وله — ۳۴۹

حان است و ربا است ربا دس حان گر حایب نگار است نگه دار ربا
شیرین سعدی نگفت شام سعدان سر برگ دحب است ربا ناد حران

وله — ۳۵۰

هستی بصلاتی که در او بود ایمان دارد سربان در همه اعدای جهان
هر وصف ر عینی که بود قال آن بر قول مدول عبد گشت است میان

وله — ۳۵۱

شوریده دلی و قصه گردون گردون گریا چشمی و اشک حیهون حیهون
کامیده ندی و شعله حرص حرص هر شعله ر کوه فاف افزون افزون

وله — ۳۵۲

سلطان گوید که نقد گدازیده من صوبی گوید که دلق پشیدیده من
عاشق گوید که داع دیونیده من من دالم و دل که چیست در سینه من

وله — ۳۵۳

رحسار قری لثاب ددن بدوان دندار دویجهاب ددن اتوان
ما دام که در کمال اسراف بود سر چشمه آوداب ددن نقوان

وله — ۳۲۲

کی باشد کی لاس هستی شده شق با حان گشته حمال وحه مطلق
دل در سطوت نور او مستهلک حان در قلای شوق او مسدعری

وله — ۳۲۳

صارا شده است رسم و آیین همه عشق ستر همه صعب است و بالین همه عشق
سبحان الله رحی و چیدن همه حس انا لله دلی و چیدن همه عشق

وله — ۳۲۴

دامان علای عشق پاک آمد پای ر آلودگی نثار با مشی حای
چون حلوه کند بطارگی حمله خود است گر ما و تو در میان نداشتیم چه پای

وله — ۳۲۵

سرمست نه نصبت حاوراں لاله آل چون دانه اشک عاشقان در مه و سال
ندود چو حسن دوست از پرده همال چون صورت حال من شدش صورت حال

وله — ۳۲۶

در باغ کجا روم که ناله نالد بی تو چکرم حلوه سرو و صندل
با قد تو هست آنچه می دارد سرو با روی تو هست آنچه می دارد گل

وله — ۳۲۷

ای چارده ساله مه که در حس و حمال همچون مه چارده رسیدی دگمال
بارب نرسد بحسب آسیب روال در چارده سالگی نمایی صد سال

وله — ۳۲۸

ای عهد تو عهد دوسندان سرپل از عهد تو کین چپرد و از مهر تو دل
ای بکشته همچو شمع و یک روره چو گل پرولوله و منان بهی همچو و دهل

وله — ۳۲۹

گر با هم عشق سازگار آمد دل بر مرکب آرزو سوار آمد دل
گر دل ندود کجا وطن سازد عشق در عشق نباشد بچه کار آمد دل

وله — ۳۳۰

با خود در وصل بر گشودن مشکل دل را به راع آرمودن مشکل
مشکل حالی و طرّف مشکل حالی بودن مشکل با نولودن مشکل

وله — ۳۳۱

هرعت که از قبیل حیراست و کمال باشد به روعیت بای متعال
هر وصف که در حداب (۴) شراسب و وصال دارد بقصور قانلیات مآل

وله — ۳۳۲

هرجا که وجود کرده سیراست ای دل میداد بیعی که معص حیراست اندل
هر شرر عدم بود عدم عین وجود پس شر همه معصای غیراست اندل

وله — ۳۳۳

گرم گدای روی رمین کردستم لطف تو امید است که گیرد دستم
گفتی که برور عذر دست گیرم ماحریر ارس معصوالا اکدوم مسلم

وله — ۳۳۴

تا بردی ارس دبار شریف و دوم بر دل رفیم شوق دودارم مرفوم
اس عصه مرا گشت که هنگام وداع از دولت دندار تو گشتم مع-روم

وله — ۳۳۵

بر لوح عدم لوائح نور قدم لائح گردید و کس (۱۵) درس سر معوم
حق را مشمر جدا ر عالم ربراک عالم در حق حق است و حق در عالم

وله — ۳۳۶

والدم که فردی صحبت و افعالم هر لحظه ز هجران بلب آمد حالم
مع-روم رهای آستانه رالم کر میل سرشک خود گذر نثوالم

وله — ۳۳۷

عمری به-وس ناد هوا پی-ودم در هر کاری خون ح-ر پالودم
در هر چه و دم دست ر عم فرسودم دست از همه بار داشتم آسودم

وله — ۳۰۶

ای در طلبِ نو عالمی بر شر و شور نزدیک بود و پیش و توانگر همه عور
ای با همه در حدیث و گویش همه کر وی با همه در حضور و چشم همه کور

وله — ۳۰۷

باقوس نواز گر دم دارد عار سجاده نشین اگر دم کرده کُدار
م پیرِ برعمِ هردو الداحظه ام تسبیح در آتش آتش اندر رنار

وله — ۳۰۸

بایارِ موافقِ آشنائی خوشتر در همدم بیوا حدائی خوشتر
چون سلطنتِ زمانه بگذاشگنی است پیوندِ ملکِ پیدوانی خوشتر

وله — ۳۰۹

دلخسته و دل و گار و مزگانِ حوریر رفتم بر بار آن مه مهر انگیر
م حایِ نکرده گرم گردون بستیز رد نالگ که هاں چند نشینی بر حیر

وله — ۳۱۰

شاهِ ز دعایِ میرِ آگاهِ نرس وز صورِ دل و آهِ سحرگاهِ نرس
بر لشکر و بر سپاهِ خود عره مشو از آمدنِ سیلِ بناگاهِ نرس

وله — ۳۱۱

ای شوق بود در مذاقِ چندان که میرس حانرا بنواشتیاقِ چندانکه میرس
آن دست که داشتم ددمانِ وصال در سر ردم از فراقِ چندانکه میرس

وله — ۳۱۲

بروز شد و جهان بر آورده نفس حاصل ز بهارِ عمر ما را عم و نص
ز قافله بهار نامد آوار دالاله نداع سرنگونِ مساحتِ حرس

وله — ۳۱۳

شاهی طلبی برو گدای همه باش دنگانه رخوش و آشنای همه باش
خواهی که ترا چون باج بر سر دارند دست همه گیر و حایِ پای همه باش

وله — ۳۱۴

چون شب برسد ر صبح حیران میداش چون شام شود ر اشک ریزان میداش
آویز درانکه ناگزیر است تورا ور هرچه حلاف او گریان میداش

وله — ۳۱۵

نا در نزی بهر چه داری آتش هرگز نشود جمعیتِ حال تو خوش
ما را خواهی حطی معالم در کش کاندر یک دل دو دوستی ناید خوش

وله — ۳۱۶

در میدان با سپر و ترکش باش سر هیچ بخود مکش نما سوکش باش
گو حواله رساله آب و حواله آتش باش بوشاد نزی و درمیداده خوش باش

وله — ۳۱۷

چون دانت لومثقی(?) بودای صاحبِ هوش اربست افعال بخود باش حموش
شیرین مثلی شدو مکس روی ارش لَبَّتْ لِلْعَرْشِ اَوَّلًا لَمْ اَلْقَسْ

وله — ۳۱۸

پیرسته مرا ز حالقِ جسم و عرص حقاً که همین دود و همین است عرص
کان جسم لطیف را بخلوبگه نار وارغ بدسم همیشه ر آسیب و مرص

وله — ۳۱۹

ای بر سر حرفِ اس و آن ناره حط بدار دوئی دلیل بُد است بعط
در حمله کائنات بی سهر و علط یک شیء معذب دان و یک داب فقط

وله — ۳۲۰

گشده بوقوف بر مواقف قانع شد قصد معاصدت ر مقصد مانع
هرگز نشود لا نکس کشف حجب انوارِ حقیقه اب ار مطالع طالع

وله — ۳۲۱

بر صود دلم نواحت یک رمرمه عشق ران زمزمه ام ر پای نا سر همه عشق
حقاً که بهر دهها بیدام بیرون ار عهد حق گذاری یک دمه عشق

وله — ۲۹۰

در سلسله عشق تو جان خواهم داد در عشق تو بوی جانمان خواهم داد
روزی که تورا به بیدم ای میر عزیز آن روز بوی بدان که جان خواهم داد

وله — ۲۹۱

اسرار وجود حام و با پخته ماند وای گوهر بس شریف ناسعه ماند
هر کس بدلیل عقل چیزی گفتند آن نکته که اصل بود با گفته ماند

وله — ۲۹۲

ردم نکلپسجای ترسا و بهود ترسا و بهود حملگی رو تو بود
بر یاد وصال تو به بدخانه شدم بسیم بجان رمزمه عشق تو بود

وله — ۲۹۳

گر عشق دل مرا حردار افتد کاری بکدم که پرده ار کار افتد
سجاده پرهیز چندان افتادم کره رناری هزار زتار افتد

وله — ۲۹۴

آن رشته که بر لعل لبت مسوده شود ورنوش دهان اشک آلوده شود
خواهم که بدس سینۀ چاکم دوری شاد که رعمهای تو آسوده شود

وله — ۲۹۵

آبرور که باده آوریدی بوحود میدانستی که باده چون خواهد بود
نار تو گناه باده بر باده میگیر کین باده همین کند که تقدیر تو بود

وله — ۲۹۶

گر عدل کنی شر جهانت حواسد ورتلم کنی سگ عرالت حواسد
چشم حردت نار کن و یک بدس تا رس دو کدام به که انت حواسد

وله — ۲۹۷

گردشش مردان بمنزل تو شود هم برق صفت بحوشش عرق شود
گر سگ بمنزل زبان رند بر در ما دریا بسود پلید و سگ عرق شود

وله — ۲۹۸

آنها که رمعدود حذر یافته اند از حمله کائنات سر نافته اند
در بوره همی کنند مردان ر بطر مردان همه از قرب نظر نافته اند

وله — ۲۹۹

از درگاه نعلش کوه و هامون بسند ترکب سہی قدان مورون بسند
پا بستند بزنجیر خون من بدم مردم سحلی بپای صحنون بسند

وله — ۳۰۰

با صود نلیح عشق بی سر نشود اندر ره عشق و عاشقی سر (?) نشود
هم بار طلب کنی و هم سر خواهی آری خواهی ولی میسر نشود

وله — ۳۰۱

گردور فنادم از وصال غرور دارد دلم از باد تو صد نوع حضور
حاصیت صافه بودارم که مدام بودیک تو ام اگر چه می اندم دور

وله — ۳۰۲

خورشید چو بر ملک رید رایب نور در پریو آن حیوة شود دند و دور
و اندم که کند ر پرده ابر طهور والنظر بحدیقه من میسر قصور

وله — ۳۰۳

ای وصل تو دستگیر من دستم گذر سپر آمده ام ر حوشش دستم گیر
تا چند کنم توبه و با کی شکم ای توبه ده و توبه ممکن دستم گیر

وله — ۳۰۴

هر در که ر بحر اشکم افد نکبار در رشده خان خود کشم گوهر وار
گیرم بکفش چو سده در فرقت یار یعنی که نمی زیم نفس هر بشمار

وله — ۳۰۵

هر لقمه که بر حوائ موالسب معور گر نفس نورا راحب جان است معور
گر نفس نورا عسل نماد نمثل آن خون دل پیره ر ناسب معور

وله — ۲۷۴

انواع عطا گرچه خدا می بخشد هر اسم عطیه خدا می بخشد
در هر آنی حقیقت عالم را یک اسم فنا یکی بقا می بخشد

وله — ۲۷۵

بارم همه بدش بر سر لیش رند گویم که مرز صدیقه را بدش رند
چون در دل من مقام دارد شب و روز میترسم از آنکه بدش بر خویش رند

وله — ۲۷۶

هرچند که جان عارف آگاه بود کی در حرم قدس نوازش راه بود
دست همه اهل کشف و ارباب شهود از دامن ادراک دو کوتاه بود

وله — ۲۷۷

دل حسنه و سینه چاک می نابد شد ور هستی خویش پاک می نابد شد
آن نه که نه خود پاک شوم اول کار چون آحر کار خاک می نابد شد

وله — ۲۷۸

عاشق چو شوی بیع سر نابد خورد رهبری که رسد همچو سکر نابد خورد
هرچند نورا بر دگر آنی ندود درنا درنا خون دگر نابد خورد

وله — ۲۷۹

نقاش اگر روی پرگار کند نقش دهن بدگ بودشوار کند
آن بدگی و نازکی که دارد دهبت درسم که نفس لب بر انگار کند

وله — ۲۸۰

بر کوی در هر که را سروکار دهد از سحیده دیرو کعبه پیرار دهد
گر لب بودر کعبه نشاند دامن اسلام بدست و پای رنار دهد

وله — ۲۸۱

آنها که حدیث عشق در دل کردند نابد که ردیح عشق سمل گردد
ارحاک طپان طپان رح آعشقه معون روحیود و گرد سرقابل گردد

وله — ۲۸۲

قومی رحیمال در عروڑ افتادلد واندی طلب حور و قصور امدادلد
قومی متشککد و قومی بیقیس از کوی لور دور دور امدادلد

وله — ۲۸۳

دروشالد هرچه هست ایشانلد در صفه ناز در صف پیشانلد
خواهی که من وجود زر گردانی ما ایشان ناشی کییا ایشانلد

وله — ۲۸۴

زان ناله که در سیر عم دوشم بود عمای جهان حمله فراموشم بود
باران همه در من شیدد ولی ناری که در او کرد اثر گوشم بود

وله — ۲۸۵

آورد صدا گلی ر گلزار امید با روح قدس شهپری افکند سقید
با گرد فصا شق ورفی از حورشید با نامه ناریست که آورده لوبد

وله — ۲۸۶

دی وقت سماع نوی دلدار بود ما را سرا پورده اسرار بود
اس زمزمه مرکب مرروح ترا است بردارد وحوش بعالم ناز بود

وله — ۲۸۷

ای ره ز حسد و پیش بیرون نشود خود بیدان را معرفت ابرو نشود
آن فکر که مصطفی بران بحر آورد آنجا نرسی با حکمت خون نشود

وله — ۲۸۸

دل صافی کن که حق دل من نگرد دلهای پراگنده یک خون نبرد
ای هر که کند صاف دل از بهرحدا گوی از همه مردم عالم نبرد

وله — ۲۸۹

خواهی که نورا دولت ابرار رسد میبسد که از تویر کس آزار رسد
از مرگ میددش و عم ررق معذور پس هر در بوقت خویش ناچار رسد

وله — ۲۵۸

نا پای نورینه گشت و نا درد بساحت مسکین دل رنجور من از درد گداخت
گوشا که ر دورگار دردی دارد اس درد که در پای نو خود را انداخت

وله — ۲۵۹

عشق نو بلای حای درویش من است دگاله نمی شود مگر خویش من است
گفتم سفری کنم ر عم نگـوزم منزل منزل عم نو در پیش من است

وله — ۲۶۰

ران می خوردم که روح پیمانه اوست ران مست شدم که عقل دیوانه اوست
دودی من آمد آتشی نا من زد ران شمع که آفتاب پروانه اوست

وله — ۲۶۱

دیار پرست رلف عذر بونت معتراب سبب گوشه ابرویت
بار تو چه کعبه که باشد شب و روز روی دل کافر و مسلمان سورت

وله — ۲۶۲

دورج سرور ر آتش سده است حدب البری رس دل گنجینه ماست
مارع ر بهشت و دورج اندل خوش باش نا درد و عیش که بار دیرینه ماست

وله — ۲۶۳

نا دل گفتم که ای دل احوال دو چشم دل دنده پر آب کرد و سیار گریست
گفتا که چگونه باشد احوال کسی کورا سراد دنگری ناک ریست

وله — ۲۶۴

ای معصود حورشید برسدان روت معتراب بهایان حم ابروت
سرمایه عدش لنگ دستان دهنه سر رشته دلهای پریشان سورت

وله — ۲۶۵

عم عاشق سده بلا درو ماست خون در دل آرزو ر چشم تر ماست
هان غیر اگر حرف نانی پیش آی کالاس دهای ناده در ساعه ماست

وله — ۲۶۶

در کشور مشق های آسایش نیست آنجا همه گاهش است افزایش نیست
بیدرد و الم توقع درمان نه بیدرم و گنه امید بخشایش نیست

وله — ۲۶۷

عس آمد و گرد داده بر حاتم نیست عظم شد و صدر روت و هوشم بگریخت
زس و اوعه سج دوست دسدم بگرو چون دیده که هر چه داشت در بایم ریخت

وله — ۲۶۸

گر مرده نوم بر آمده سالی نیست چه پنداری که گورم از عشق بهی است
گردست بجای من بهی گاندها کیست آوار دهم که حال معشوقم چیست

وله — ۲۶۹

ای قلدۀ هر که مقلد آمد روت روی همه مقلدات عالم سوت
امروز کسی کر تو نگرداند روی فردا نکدام رو نه بید روی

وله — ۲۷۰

ار ما همه معز و بیسقی مطلوب است هستی و توانش ر ما منکوب است
اس اوست پدید گشته در صورت ما اس قدرت و فعل ار آن ما منسوب است

وله — ۲۷۱

ای در یونهایها و عیانها همه هیچ پندار بعینها و گمانها همه هیچ
ار دای تو مطلقاً بشان نتوان باوب گانجا که نوئی بود نشانها همه هیچ

وله — ۲۷۲

ای با رحمت انوار مه و حور همه هیچ با لعل نو سلسیل و کونر همه هیچ
بودم همه بین چو در بین شد چشمم دادم که همه توئی و دیگر همه هیچ

وله — ۲۷۳

حلقان بر ای حلال گوناگوند گاهی چو الف راست گهی چون دوند
در حضرت احلال حیل معدون کز خاطر و فهم آدمی بیروند

وله — ۲۴۲

سوسطائی که از خود منحدر است گوند عالم خیالی اندر گذر است
آری عالم همه خیالی است ولی پیوسته جعیدی در او حلوه گواست

وله — ۲۴۳

گوند دل آینه آیین معجب است در وی رخ شاهدان خود بن عجب است
در آینه روی شاهدان نیست معجب خود شاهد و خود آینه اس عجب است

وله — ۲۴۴

بر شکل بنان رهنمون عشاق حق است لا بلکه عیان در همه آفاق حق است
چیزی که بود ر روی نبود جهان و الله که همان روحه اطلاق حق است

وله — ۲۴۵

در شهر ویم قرار می نابد و بدست آسایش حای رار می نابد و نیست
سرمایه روزگار می نابد و نیست یعنی که وصال رار می نابد و نیست

وله — ۲۴۶

آنها که حلال رادگی عادت و خواست عیب همه مردمان بچشمش بیکواست
معنوب همه عیب کسان می نگرد از کوره همان نروں تراود که در اوست

وله — ۲۴۷

روزم نعم جهان فرسوده گذشت شب در هوس بوده و نابوده گذشت
عمری که ارو دمی جهانی ارزد القصه فکرهای بیهوده گذشت

وله — ۲۴۸

گریم رعم تورار و گوئی ررق است چون ررق بود که دیده در خون عرق است
تو بنداری که حمله دلها دل تو است نه نه صفا میان دلها وفا است

وله — ۲۴۹

آنها که وفا شیوه و فقر آیین است با کشف بعض نه معرفت نه دین است
رفت او ر میان همی جدا ماند جدا الفقر ادا نم هو الله اس است

وله — ۲۵۰

کردم بونه شکستیش زورِ بحسبست چون شکستم بونده ام حواله‌ای چست
القصه رهام بونده ام در کفِ بسب بکدم نه شکسته اش گذاری نه درست

وله — ۲۵۱

دندنا بمثل چو کوره رتس است که آب در او تلخ و گهی شیرین است
تو مرقه مشو که عمر من چندی است کین اسب اصیل مدام ز برین است

وله — ۲۵۲

با در برسد وعده هرکار که هست سویی بدهد باری هر بار که هست
با رحمت سرما و رمدان بکشند پُر گل بسود دامن هر خار که هست

وله — ۲۵۳

بارب تو رمانده را دلی بفرست بمرودان را پشته چو پدلی بفرست
فرعویگان همه زبردست شدند موسی و عصا و رود بدلی بفرست

وله — ۲۵۴

آسان آسان و خود امان بقوان بافت و بس شربت ثوی رنگان بقوان بافت
ران می که عزیز حان مساقان است یک حره بعد مرار حان بقوان بافت

وله — ۲۵۵

از درد نشان مده که در حان بویست بگذر ز ولایتی که آن را بویست
از بیهودی بود که با حوهردان لاف از گهری ری که در کان بویست

وله — ۲۵۶

چشم همه اشک گشت و حسیم بگریست در عشق بوی حکیم همی داد رست
از من اثری نماند این گریه ز چیسب چون من همه معشوق شدم عاشق کیست

وله — ۲۵۷

ما عاشق و عهد حان ما مشتاقیست ما ندم ز درد عشق تا حان باقیست
عم نقل و بدم درد و مطرب داله می حورِ حگر مردم چشمت ساقیست

رباعیات ابوسعید ابو الخیر علیه الرحمة

(منقول از نسخه پرتش موزیم لندن)

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم

* رباعی — ۲۲۹

آن عشق که هست حور لایق^ص ما حاشا که شود بعل ما مدرک ما
حوش آله که رنور او دمد صبح بقی ما را برهاند و طالم شک ما

وله — ۲۳۰

منصور حلاج آن بهنگ درنا کرپنده نی دانه خان کرد خدا
روزی که انا الحق بران می آورد منصور کجا بود خدا بود خدا

وله — ۲۳۱

من دوش دعا کردم و داد آمیدا ناله شود آن دو چشم نادا میدا
ار دنده بد حواله تو را چشم رسید در دنده بد حواله تو داد آمیدا

وله — ۲۳۲

ای کرده عیب عارت^ص هوش دل ما درد تو شده حانه فروش دل ما
زدی که معذسان^ص از او معرومند عشق تو مرا او گفت بگوش دل ما

وله — ۲۳۳

در دنده بکای حواب آه است مرا دراکه ندیدنت شد است مرا
گوند بخراب نا بخرانش بیدی ای بخران چه حای حواب است مرا

* در حله ۵ حرال^ص خدا دانت سه ۱۹۰۹ میلادی ۲۲۸ رباعیات شیخ
ابوسعید از ابو الخیر^ص مطبوع گردیده بود لهذا شروع این رباعیات از نمرة

وله — ۲۳۴

با درد رسید چشمِ حوِصوارِ سورا خواهم که کشد حای من آزارِ سورا
با رب که رچشمِ رحیمِ دورانِ هرگز دردی نرسد تو گسِ پیوارِ سورا

وله — ۲۳۵

مهمانِ نوحواهم آمدنِ حانانا میدوای کس رحاصدای پدپانانا
حالی کس اس حانه رس مهمانانا با ما کس را بخانه در منسانانا

وله — ۲۳۶

آن رشده که فوٹ روانسب مرا آراسنِ حانِ نادوانسب مرا
بر لب چوکشی حان کشدم اری آن بدود چونا رشده حان اسب مرا

وله — ۲۳۷

در ربعِ حُجبِ کوش نه در جمع کتب گر جمع کتب نمی شود ربعِ حُجب
در طیی کتب کجا بود نشاء حب طی کس همه را نگو آلا آله و نب

وله — ۲۳۸

بر نوبِ عدایِ صدوری از حایِ حرا شده مجبورگاب حلقه چشم ارب و باب
دیگر چو عدای نه پیچم از حکمِ دوسر گردولتِ پابوس نوباسم چورگاب

وله — ۲۳۹

از چرخ و فلک گردش نکسانِ مطلب ور دورِ زمانه عدلِ سلطانِ مطلب
روری پلج که در جهانِ خواهی بود آزارِ دل هیچ مسلمانِ مطلب

وله — ۲۴۰

گفتارِ نکودارم و نکودارم نیست ار گفتم نکوی (?) بی عمل عارم نیست
دشوار بود کردن و گفتنِ آسان آسان بسیار هیچ دشوارم نیست

وله — ۲۴۱

ای حواحه درای عمِ حمالی ما هست و اندیشه ناغ و راع و حرص گاهست
ما سوختگانِ عالمِ بهریدم ما را عم لا اله الا الله است

The following enchanting Rubā'is by Sa'di and Jāmi (although the former's *qafiyas* are different) are on the strain of Quatrain No 355 of the text

Abu Sa'id

اربادہ بروی شمع رنگ آوردن باقوس نکندہ در درنگ آوردن
اسلام بحساب رنگ آوردن بدوان - بدوان برا بچنگ آوردن

Sa'di

مہ را ر ملک بطرف نام آوردن ور روم کلسیدا بسام آوردن
در وقت سحر ہمار شام آوردن بدوان - بدوان برا بام آوردن

Jāmi

سرحی روح لعل سنگ آوردن ور گُل نگاہ بوی و رنگ آوردن
معصود دل ار کام بہنگ آوردن بدوان - بدوان برا بچنگ آوردن

TRANSLATION

I

To flush with wine the cheek of the Saint,
To introduce the Church bell, after delay, unto the Ka'ba,
To import Islām towards the lands of the Franks
Are possible—but 'tis not possible to have Thee unto the grasp

II

To bring down the Moon from the Heaven towards the turret,
And to transfer the Christian Church from Rome to Asia-Minor,
To celebrate at the time of morn the evening Service
Are possible—but 'tis not possible to entrap Thee

III

To transfer the red colour from the face of the gem to the stone,
And to impart hue and fragrance from the rose to the grass,
To have the heart's desire attained from the jaw of the crocodile

Are possible—but 'tis not possible to have Thee unto
the grasp

In the first *stanza* Abu Sa'id says that it is more possible to introduce the Church-bell—a sign of Christianity—for *adān* (call for prayer)—a sign of Muslim prayer—to Mecca, or to introduce the tenets of Islam to Europe, than to attain the Beloved

In the second *stanza* Shaykh Sa'dī, who flourished during the Crusades, and who was imprisoned by the French Crusaders, hints that it is rather possible to transfer Christianity from Rome to the Holy Land, in Asia Minor, than to attain Thee

In the third Quatrain Mullā Abdu'r Rahmān Jāmī introduces some apparently unattainable and fanciful objects

There can be no doubt that Shaykh Abu Sa'id ibn Abu'l Khayr's verse inspired the other two poets to imitate him, with what success I leave others to judge

I am reluctant to pursue the inquiry any further, as to the similitude or dissimilitude of the verses of Shaykh Abu Sa'id's with those of others. It is certain that barring a few Quatrains of Shaykh Abu Sa'id and also of 'Omaru'l-Khayyām, the real authorship of the rest of the Quatrains ascribed to them will never be correctly traced. Beautiful as undoubtedly are their Quatrains, there are many poets who have written equally beautiful Quatrains

In conclusion, I beg to tender my obligations to Mr H Beveridge for his kindly procuring for me a copy of the Quatrains from the British Museum, which never lends MSS, and for his many advices and suggestions



1 The same verses are differently worded One distich or hemistich of a Rubā'ī in one collection is mixed up with that of another Words and phrases have in the same way been changed and distorted by less intelligent scribes in the second, third, and subsequent copies

2. In many instances, verses not specifically noted or prefixed by لَا أَدْرِي or لَا أَعْلَمُ have been attributed to Shaykh Abu Sa'id, because they were so Abu Sa'id-like, though their authorship might be claimed by others

The Diwāns of Sa'dī, Khusrāu, and Jāmī, the Mathnavis of Maulānā Jalāl'u-d-Dīn Rūmī, Farīd'u d-Dīn 'Aṭṭār, Nizāmī of Ganja and others were probably collected during the lifetime of their authors But the tetrastiches of Abu Sa'id ibn Abu'l Khayr and many other saints, like those, I believe, of Khayyām of Nishāpūr, who was a philosopher and mathematician, stand in a different category The more bulky is then collection of Quatrains the less genuine they are Sprenger, in his Oude Catalogue, in noticing the Asiatic Society's copy of Abu Sa'id's Rubā'iyāt, MS No 1398 (New No O(a) 62), remarks that "these of course are not all the Rubā'iyāt of the poet" Such is also my opinion regarding a large number of the Quatrains, which I have traced out among the Rubā'iyāt of other writers

The text of the Rubā'iyāt copied from the British Museum also contains verses attributed to other eminent personages

Without making an attempt to determine the authorship of many of the Quatrains contained in the British Museum Codex ascribed to the Shaykh, I was rather puzzled to find some of them attributed to other writers Unless any one of these Quatrains can be traced to a genuine old Diwān or Anthology of any poet, and unless also the evidence as to their being collected by or under the supervision of those writers has been fully gone into, we cannot positively say who were their real authors When such a well-known Diwān as that of Hāfiz in the past, or of Hakīm Q'ānī of our own time, may contain poems of others, it is to me a thankless task to search for the genuineness or otherwise of the Quatrains of Abu Sa'id, who never wrote a word of which with his own pen, or of Khayyām-i-Nishāpūrī, who had hardly time or inclination to collect his masterpieces

The following among other Rubā'iyāt of the present text are attributed to others —

No 289 is attributed to Shāh Sanjān Khāfi (d 599 A H)

No 295 is attributed to Khwāja Hasan of Qandahār

No 392 is attributed to Maulānā Ya'qūb Qarkhī (9th century A H)

No 368 is attributed to Shaykh Abu'l Hasan Khurqānī (died 425 A H) and also to 'Omar-i-Khayyām of Nishāpūr

No 314 is found in Jāmī exactly with a slight variation in

1 2 (چون صبح شود ر اشک دران می ناش) which gives a better meaning It is difficult to suggest who the real author of this Rubā'ī was

It is a well-known fact that when a poet composes a good piece, there arises a host of imitators There are really more imitators, in Persian, than original composers Some of the imitations are so close, that it becomes difficult to say whether the particular verse is the original or an imitation

'Imādī-i-Shahryārī's verses (died about 582 A H) noted below is apparently in imitation of Rubā'ī No 358 of the text and is indeed a beautiful imitation

دوباد و فلان رس پاک آید گون آن حاک بچرخ برکشد مصلی دوز
ما مینظران روزگارم کدوون با خود ملک از پرده چه آرد بدرون

O/ Khayyām's Rubā'ī noted below with No 282 of the text The imitation is so close, that it cannot be definitely stated if it is an imitation or the same stanza with variations

قومی ر گراف در مـرور ایدادند قومی ر پی حور و مصـور ایدادند
معلوم شود چو پردها نداردند کرکوی تو دور دور ایدادند

Tāju'd-Dīn Ismā'il Bākhārzi's Quatrain quoted by 'Aufi in the *Lubabu'l-Albāb* is the same as No 375 of the text, the only variation being in the first line

اندرست که حور با ندارد عم تو

Amī Fakhru'd-Dīn Mas'ūd Kīmānī's Rubā'ī on the same strain is as under—

ای بر من نهاده باری عم تو وی در دل من نهاده باری عم تو
گفتی که مگر عم صفت چوید کرد آری عم تو عم تو آری عم تو

O/ Shihābu'd-Dīn Āḏīb-i-Sābir's Rubā'ī (d 540 A H) quoted below with No 311 of the text—

چندان رفراں در زبانم که میپرس چندان رعیت بسوخت حاتم که میپرس
چندان نگرینست در دگامم که میپرس گفتمی که چگونگی چندانم که میپرس

Āfzalu'd-Dīn-un-Nābiqi's Quatrain is too close an imitation to Quatrain No 306 of the text, and is not very interesting

ای در سر هر کسی رسودای تو سور نزدیک تو مجلس و توانگر همه عور
خود با همه در حدیث و گویش همه کر خود با همه در حضور و چشم همه کور

The Lubābu'l-Albāb of 'Aufi attributes this Rubā'ī (as it occurs in B M MS with the word *دیده* for *درست* in l 2) to Rashīdī of Samarqand

Quatrain 83 B M has it thus—

در دورج اگر رلف تو در چنگ آمد ار بار و نیمم حنّـم بدگ آمد
ور بی تو مصحّرای بهشتم حواند صحـرای بهشت بر دلم نگ آمد

Although both the texts convey almost the same sense, the difference in l 2 is considerable

Quatrain 120 In l 3 for *شاد* in A S, B M has *سهل* باشد, which has very little sense and is probably a clerical blunder *سهل* باشد means "may be easy" but if read with the context may mean "'tis easy," but such an archaic use is uncommon

Quatrain 123 This is ascribed to *Shaykh* Abu Yazīd Bistāmī (died in 261 A H) In l 1 for *خوشعرو* and *رب*, B M has *دلجو* and *مهر* respectively Also in l 2 for *بر حمله خلق* in A S, B M has *پس و پیش خلق بس*

In the *Haft Iqlīm*, where the Ruba'ī is attributed to *Shaykh* Abu Yazīd Bistāmī, the words *صادق الوعد* occur for *صادق القول*, used both in A S and B M MSS

Quatrain 146 Apparently in l 2 the word *طعمه* is incorrectly copied in B M MS for *کعبه*

Quatrain 161 The last two lines in B M are written thus—

من دل بقوداده ام برای دل تو * بودل یکی مدّه برای دل من

Quatrain 168 In l 1 for *در* in A S, B M gives *چرخ* [Note In the Society's Edition an *و* is left out in print after *در* in l 3]

Quatrain 176 This Ruba'ī is quoted in the *Asrar al-Tauhid fi* *مقامات الشیخ ابی سعید* which as well as the B M copy has *و* for *و* in l 1 A S L 2 in B M has *تو مستی کم کن* but A S tallies with the *Asrar'ut Tauhid*

Quatrain 190 In l 2 for *هر* B M has *در*

Quatrain 193 In l 3 for *دگران* B M has *همه کس*

The former is rather preferable as the same word occurs twice, once in l 3, and again in l 4 in B M

Quatrain 197 رسائی in B M for سنائی in A S is incorrect, and probably a clerical error

Quatrain 207 The difference in B M is great The Quatrain as written there is as follows —

در کوی بو مدد دهد حالی بـحـوی حالی چه بود که کاروانی بـحـوی
ار عشق بونک حر بـحـادی ارد اس چست که مائیم بـحـادی بـحـوی

Quatrain 212 L 2 in B M is rendered as آنرا چه کم که نفس
سجود, and in l 3 سار is put down for کافرداری

I have done with the variations in the *Rubā'iyāt* that are common in both the collections, and have been excluded from the present text

In the Preface to the *Rubā'iyāt*, already published in the J A S B for 1909, I had stated my belief that owing to the absence of a complete text of the *Rubā'iyāt* no complete collection of the same was issued from the European Press. Since the above was written, I am convinced that neither the Quatrains already printed nor those now being printed can be said to be a complete collection of *Shaykh* *Abu Sa'id ibn Abu'l Khayr's* verses. As a scholar and *Ṣūfī* of great reputation, he had occasion to discourse on various topics, all leading to the mystic theme—the Doctrine of the Unity of Divine Being. In the course of his musings and communions with the Eternal Soul, and sermons to the selected circle of disciples, he used to improvise verses in Arabic as well as in his native Persian by way of illustration or emphasis. Sometimes he would utter a whole *Tetrastich* or ode, at another, only a distich or a hemistich. Not a poet who is judged by the number of his verses, but a poet of poets who would either utter his own or other's verses, appropriate to the theme of his discourse, to emphasize his inner thoughts regarding life, soul, and esoteric meanings of the holy-writs. The *Asrār'ut Tauhīd fi Maqāmāt'sh* *Shaykh Abi Sa'id*, and also the *Hālāt o Sukhanān-i-Shaykh Abu Sa'id* and other books have fortunately preserved for the student numerous instances of the *Shaykh's* utterances, which if carefully studied will give the inquirer an insight into the inner life of the man.

Such being the state of his verses, which I daresay he composed off-hand, not with a view to their publication to the world, it is rather fortunate that students of antiquities, now and then, come across a few Quatrains of the saint. Some students, some scholarly disciples, probably committed to memory, or noted in their *bayāz* or memoranda, such of the Quatrains or other verses of the saint that interested them. In this way, and in this way only, have these priceless pearls come down to posterity. But this mode of collection of the verses has many drawbacks.

No 65 occurs twice in the B M Collection In the first line of it the word *حیران* is wrongly copied as *حیران*

In some of the other Quatrains minor variations occur, excluding such variations as the same scribe would commit if he were to write the same verse or passage more than once, *e g* *ایں* and *وین*, *وی* and *آی*, *ار* and *ور* etc I need only mention the following variants

The British Museum MS is indicated by B M, and the Asiatic Society of Bengal's MS as already published in the Journal for 1909 by A S

Quatrain 17 of A S, line 2, runs as—

شیرین سحلی که شهد در شکر اوست

In B M it occurs as

شیرین دھلی که شهد در پیکر اوست

Quatrain 25 In the first line of A S for *سرنا سر* the B M has *اندرومہ*, in the second line for *نور* in A S the B M has *در او* in the fourth line B M has *عمت* for *عیش* in A S

Quatrain 69 of A S text has for *qāfiyās* *سنگی - حدکی* but B M has *عاری - کاری - خاری* It appears that the disciples of the *Shaykh* in committing the following two quatrains into memory mixed up the words and *qāfiyās* of one Rubā'ī with those of the other, or it may be that the *Shaykh* himself used different rhymes on different occasions

They are copied below for the purpose of comparison

No 25, A S

سر تا سر دشت حاوراں سنگی نیست	کز خون دل و دیده برورنگی نیست
در هیچ رمین و هیچ فرسنگی نیست	کز دست عیش نشسته دلنگی نیست

B M

اندرومہ دشت حاوراں سنگی نیست	کز خون دل و دیده دراورنگی نیست
در هیچ رمین و هیچ فرسنگی نیست	کز دست عمت نشسته دلنگی نیست

No 69, A S

اندرومہ دشت حاوراں سنگی نیست	کش دامن و روزگار من حدکی نیست
دا لطف و نوازش وصال دو مرا	در دادن صد هزار جان ندکی نیست

B M

اندر همه دشتِ حاورانِ حاری دست کش با من و روزگارِ من گاری دست
با لطف و نوازشِ وصالِ دو مـرا در دادنِ صد هزار جانِ عای نیست

In Professor Valentine Zhukovski's edition of the *Asiār'ut Tauhid fi Maqāmat'ish Shaykh Abi Sa'id* the latter Quatrain is the same as in the B M Manuscript, only the former has *for حانا بر من* of the latter

Quatrain 32 Lines 1 and 2 in A S edition run thus —

ار کفرِ سرِ رلفِ وی ایمانِ مـدریعت و گوشِ و لدس چشمة حیاوانِ مـدریعت

The position of the lines is reversed in B M thus —

ار اویشِ لدس چشمة حیاوانِ مـدریعت و کفرِ سرِ رلفِ دو ایمانِ مـدریعت

If *in 1 2* which is not quite accurately used, be changed into *او*, the B M text is preferable

The words *گوشِ و لب* in A S's text is meaningless of No 49 A S

L 4 in B M is *میردت و ر حاکِ معدمش حانِ مـدریعت* for *میردت* in A S

Quatrain 45 Ls 1 and 2 in A S run thus —

ار گلِ طبعی بهاده کس رویِ مدست و رمشکِ حطی کشیده کینِ مویِ مدست

B M has —

گلِ بر طبعی بهاده کینِ رویِ مدست بر شبِ گرهی نگداده کینِ مویِ مدست

The first line (with *گلِ بر طبعی*) is nice, but the second line (with *بر شبِ گرهی نگداده*) has a far-fetched meaning

Quatrain 58 In lieu of 1 2 in A S, B M has *ای رازِ رو* and in 1 3 for *سپاره* in the former B M has *دلخسته*, and in 1 4 for *رحمی* in A S, B M. has *لطیف*

Quatrain 70 The B M has the Rubā'ī in the form of a *tarāna*, thus —

چشمی دام همه پرازِ صورتِ دوست بادیده مرا خوش است چون دوستِ دروِست
ر ددده و دوستِ فرق کردنِ ده نکوست با اوست بجایِ ددده با ددده خود اوست

45. The Rubā'iyāt of Abu Sa'id ibn Abu'l Khayr.

(No II)

Edited by MAULAVI 'ABDU'L WALI

In a late issue of this Journal (Vol V, No 11 [N S], for December, 1909, pp 421—456) I published 228 Quatrains of Shaykh Abu Sa'id ibn Abu'l Khayr from the only manuscript of the Society, No 1398 old (62 O(a) new) With a few exceptions, all the Rubā'iyāt were correctly published from sources noted in the preface

After the publication of those verses Mr H Beveridge, C S (Retd), informed me of the existence, in the British Museum, of a copy of the Quatrains of the saint At my request Mr Beveridge was kind enough, with the permission of the Museum authorities, to send me a transcript of the Quatrains made by a Persian medical student now residing in London The British Museum MS Add 7822 is noted in Rieu's Catalogue, Vol II, page 738b This MS and the Rubā'iyāt of Sahābi, Mahvi of Ardabīl and of Babā Afzal-i-Kāshī are bound in the same volume The MS of Abu Sa'id's Quatrains was written in A H 1065 (A D 1653)

I have compared these Quatrains with those published in the Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal Like the Society's MS, the British Museum MS includes many well-known Quatrains commonly ascribed to others The B M collection contains here and there certain words and phrases which *prima facie* are inaccurate These I have removed as far as possible by collating with certain biographies of the saint A few Quatrains are common in both the MSS and the rest are new or not quite similar I have arranged the latter alphabetically according to the last letter of the distiches and have numbered them consecutively, commencing from No 229, as the previous edition of the Quatrains ended with No 228

Twenty-two of the Quatrains are common or almost similar in both, and they have been excluded from the present text¹ The following Rubā'iyāt already published in the Journal, A S B, are also to be found in the British Museum Codex, Nos 17, 25, 28, 32, 45, 58, 65, 69, 70, 83, 120, 122 123, 146, 161, 168, 176, 190, 193, 197, 207, 212 Of these Quatrains

¹ A few Qat'as and Quatrains written on the margin of the MS have also been excluded